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THE HOOSIER SCHOOLMASTER IN MINNESOTA¹

On July 4, 1857, a boating expedition near Cannon City, Minnesota, ended catastrophically with the capsizing of the craft and the drowning of four people. When the time for the funeral arrived, it was discovered that the regularly officiating minister was unavoidably engaged elsewhere. At this juncture a stripling but recently arrived from Indiana announced himself a Methodist minister and volunteered his services. Thus it was that a lad of twenty who had journeyed to Minnesota chiefly afoot performed the memorial ceremonies. That stripling was Edward Eggleston, later nationally famous as the first of the Hoosier realists and everywhere known as the "Hoosier Schoolmaster," and that boating accident became one of the central incidents in Eggleston's only Minnesota novel, *The Mystery of Metropolisville*.²

But Eggleston's first visit to the territory had come over twelve months earlier. In the spring of 1856 the boy's health had broken down completely; lung hemorrhages had developed and he was apparently destined to an early death from consumption. Hoping to ameliorate his condition somewhat his mother took him on a river voyage to St. Louis. There the boy fell in with a group of similarly af-

¹A paper read on June 18, 1937, at the Little Falls session of the fifteenth state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. *Ed.*

²William McKinley, *A Story of Minnesota Methodism*, 64 (Cincinnati, 1911).

flicted people who were en route for Minnesota, which had been represented to them as having an ideal climate for those suffering from tuberculosis. Eggleston, although obliged to leave his mother and having cash enough to defray only the cost of his passage, agreed to join the rest. So it was that he arrived in Minnesota in May, penniless and alone.³

But whatever the lad lacked in strength and endurance he made up in spirit. Undeterred by his physical condition, he threw himself wholeheartedly into the life of the frontier community. Jobs were plentiful if hardly remunerative, and Eggleston, demanding little but a chance to work in the open air, had no trouble in keeping himself busy. He was chain bearer for a surveying party, amateur surveyor himself, driver of a three-yoke ox team engaged in breaking the prairie loam, peddler of a recipe for making soap. In after years he was twitted for the unministerial character of some of his occupations, particularly the last. But his reply was firm: "I am prouder of my soap recipe selling than I am of my preaching there; for the soap was above criticism, while the sermons certainly were not." As his brother George, his only biographer, wrote, Edward's labors may have lacked dignity, but they were indubitably honest.⁴

By the end of the summer of 1856 the lad found his health marvelously improved, so much so that he determined for awhile to contribute whatever he could to the free state cause in Kansas. Securing a dirk pocketknife and equipping himself with a plentiful supply of cheese and crackers (they made up in economy for their lack of nutrition!), he wandered west and south as far as Cedar Falls, Iowa. There he decided that his zeal for the Kansans was hardly equal to the task of transporting himself on foot to the scene of action, and reluctantly he turned eastward. At

³ George Cary Eggleston, *The First of the Hoosiers*, 261, 264 (Philadelphia, 1903).

⁴ Eggleston, *First of the Hoosiers*, 265.

Muscatine he crossed the Mississippi, and at Galesburg he spent what little money he still had for railroad transportation back to his home at Vevay, Indiana. Although his months in Minnesota had not supplied enough energy to enable him to reach Kansas, they had done wonders for a naturally frail constitution, so much so that he walked between three hundred and four hundred miles before he finally deemed it wiser to journey by rail.⁵

Home once more, Eggleston decided to renew his studies for the ministry, and he succeeded so well, without the benefit of much formal education, that that very autumn he was ordained and was assigned a circuit containing ten different preaching stations in southeastern Indiana. Plunging into his work with characteristic abandon, he was a welcome addition, despite his youth and inexperience, to the ministry of the state. But he soon overtaxed himself and after a period of severe clerical labor he became convinced that he could not live longer in his native climate. "At the end of six months of zealous preaching," he wrote long afterward, "I was again a candidate for the grave." At that time the tide of immigration westward was at a crest, and Eggleston had no difficulty in turning his thoughts and aspirations toward the frontier. But his motive was not that which impelled the land-hungry mobs in the direction of the setting sun. "The only fortune he sought," declared his brother George, "was the privilege of living, the ability to go on breathing in spite of the condition of his lungs. Beyond that he had no hope or expectation, no desire, even, except to do well and faithfully the work in the world to which he believed that God had called him."⁶ Obviously it was the quest for health which led Eggleston back to Minnesota, just as it was the search for a more suitable climate that induced Thoreau to penetrate the trans-Mississippi country at

⁵ Edward Eggleston, "Formative Influences," in *The Forum*, 10: 288 (November, 1890).

⁶ Eggleston, *First of the Hoosiers*, 305.

the tag end of his life. Nine years were to elapse before Eggleston again left the frontier.

At the session of the Minnesota Methodist conference held in Winona in August, 1857, the ministerial status of Edward Eggleston was discussed. His papers had not yet arrived from Indiana, but on motion of Bishop Edward R. Ames the conference waived the formality and examined the candidate regarding his orthodoxy and ability. According to one of his later colleagues, the Reverend William McKinley, members of the examining board were amazed by the contrast between the aspirant's youth and his mental maturity; they accorded him a hearty and unanimous recommendation. As McKinley asserted, "There was something about him that attracted people at once. His powers of observation, description, and conversation were phenomenal. He could talk more and talk better than any man I ever knew. His geniality, natural eloquence, and magnetic personality made him a favorite everywhere."⁷

Eggleston's first charge was at Traverse des Sioux, where he preached in one of the earliest churches built in southwestern Minnesota. His congregation was hardly numerous, consisting of fifteen members and twenty probationers. They included a few white settlers, hunters, trappers, half-breeds, and Indians. His duties involved an immense amount of travel, usually on foot, both in summer and winter. He lived in the open air almost as much as if he had been a *voyageur*—naturally the best possible existence for him. Sometimes he chose to walk only because he was too poor to buy or rent a horse, for salaries were meager and hardships common in the Methodist ministry of the day. Annual stipends ranged from nine to forty dollars, such pitiful returns in a sparsely settled land that the men were frequently obliged to resort to hunting in order to obtain food. One preacher was in the habit of shooting red squirrels for his dinner as he rode to visit his scattered parishioners.

⁷ McKinley, *Minnesota Methodism*, 64.

Eggleston himself pastured sheep part of the day. In some manner, however, the young clergyman must have managed to scrape together a pittance, for on March 18, 1858, he took himself a wife, Lizzie Snider of St. Peter.⁸

One incident of his first year's pastorate attests eloquently to Eggleston's energy and determination. Frail as he was, he once enlisted in a volunteer troop raised for a punitive expedition against Indian marauders. For some time all went well. But after a particularly long march his commander said to him, "Parson, you're a good fellow, but you're not strong enough for a soldier. Now, I've got more men than horses here, and I want you to quit as a man and let me have your horse for a strong young fellow to ride." Humiliated, but perforce consenting, Eggleston dismounted and returned to the settlements on foot. The state later paid him for his horse.⁹

Eggleston's probationary period on the frontier was short. Despite the fact that the annual roll of the church indicated a drop in membership in the Traverse and St. Peter parish, the young preacher was promoted in 1859 to the Market Street Church in St. Paul. In the *Minutes* of the Minnesota conference of the Methodist Episcopal church for 1859 Eggleston is listed as a full-fledged member—he had previously been included as "on trial"—and he was ordained in the same year. His services, moreover, were recognized in a different field, for the record contains this comment on his part in the dissemination of the Bible in the young community: "The American Bible Society has not abated its activity. Its auxiliary in this State, under the efficient agency of REV. E. EGGLESTON, has now sixty branch societies, five hundred local agents, and has raised \$1,000 during the year, and purchased \$1,500 worth of Bibles and

⁸ Eggleston, *First of the Hoosiers*, 314; Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes*, 1858; Chauncey Hobart, *History of Methodism in Minnesota*, 166 (Red Wing, 1887); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6:54 (New York, 1931).

⁹ Eggleston, *First of the Hoosiers*, 315.

Testaments from the American Bible Society."¹⁰ Thus his record was so remarkable that at the age of twenty-one, in October, 1859, Eggleston found himself pastor, in the capital city, of one of the largest Methodist churches in Minnesota.

He remained in his St. Paul pastorate for a little over a year before the itinerant system of the Methodist church compelled his removal to Stillwater. During that period he became well known in the religious life of the city. At an anniversary of the Minnesota Sabbath School Society held in St. Paul on June 12, 1860, he gave the chief address of welcome to the delegates, and on the same evening at the meeting of the Minnesota Bible Society he opened the session with a few remarks about the distribution of books and with some pointed criticism of the sermon delivered by Bishop Thomas L. Grace on the previous St. Patrick's Day.¹¹ Of the second address the St. Paul *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* for June 14 remarked acidly, "Mr. E. is a fluent speaker, and made a good address, barring a little uncharitableness."

But the most interesting incident of Eggleston's earliest St. Paul residence has no connection with his ecclesiastical career. In the early summer of 1860 a group of scientists from Cambridge, Massachusetts, passed through Minnesota en route to Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River, where they hoped to view a total eclipse of the sun on July 18. This party, led by Simon Newcomb, the distinguished astronomer, also included William Ferrel, the mathematician, and Samuel Scudder, the entomologist. During an enforced delay in St. Paul because of transportation difficulties the scientists extended an invitation to the young minister to join them, at least on part of their journey, and Eggle-

¹⁰ Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes*, 1869, p. 7.

¹¹ *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), June 13, 14, 1860. The criticism of Bishop Grace evoked certain epistolary comments in which Eggleston's name figured. See *Pioneer and Democrat*, June 16, 17, 1860.

ton eagerly consented. So it was that the latter part of June and almost all of July found him absent on an expedition which was hardly consonant with his clerical duties. But Eggleston's health was always unreliable and there is little doubt that he accompanied the expedition chiefly for the opportunity it gave him to live in the open air.¹²

The party left St. Paul on June 16, 1860, and reached the Willis House at St. Cloud the same night, their conveyance being one of the stagecoaches which Burbank and Company had recently inaugurated between St. Paul and the Red River. From St. Cloud westward the progress of the party was recorded by Eggleston himself, who at intervals sent longish letters back to the *Daily Minnesotian* of St. Paul. These missives, signed "E. E.," are not only excellent first-hand accounts of the country and the almost insuperable obstacles met by the travelers; they are also remarkable for their graphic accuracy and they suggest Eggleston's later mastery of provincial scenes and characters. Certainly it is not difficult to see the mature realist in such a picture of a stage companion as the following. At one of the stops, according to the writer, a very amusing native entered the coach and at once began to denounce temperance houses. Whence ensued this colloquy:

"Do you sell whiskey?"

"Yes, I keep a leetle for a case of immergency, it's mighty good for colicky horses. You can tell one of these 'ere temperance houses by the great number of dead horses layin' about them."

"Ah, then you only keep liquor for horses?"

"I keep it for the public, sir, it's mighty good for sickness."

"Well," we rejoined, "then you don't sell to any but sick people."

"I don't axe 'em whether they're sick or not, there's a heap o' sick people passes along this road."

¹² Scudder, using the pseudonym of "A. Rochester Fellow," wrote an account of the trip, which was published under the title *The Winnipeg Country, or Roughing It with an Eclipse Party* (Boston, 1886). Curiously enough, he makes no mention whatever of Eggleston. Scudder's pictures of the party's experiences en route to Fort Garry harmonize perfectly with the accounts sent by Eggleston to the *Daily Minnesotian* of St. Paul, but are considerably less vivid.

Eggleston's second letter, dated June 18, was written from Kandota, in Todd County. He reported first his departure, against his will, on Sunday, but, he added philosophically, "it is a stern fact that eclipses wait for no one. There was no alternative but that of traveling or of being too late." So he solaced himself by reading the Episcopal service out of doors. His attention was almost immediately attracted by the terrain he was traversing.

I have never seen a more handsome or more fertile valley than that of the Sauk. We have not seen a foot of poor ground in the last sixty miles. The prairie is rolling, but not broken, and popple and tamarack are almost the only kinds of timber. I saw a house built of tamarack with the bark peeled off, so as to leave it spotted by the pieces of underbark. At a short distance it appeared almost as beautiful as rosewood.

Kandota, a townsite platted in 1856, he found consisting of one house and five people. And yet he approved. "The town is like Eden before the creation of Eve."¹³

In his next letter, written from Breckenridge on June 20, Eggleston devoted much of his space to objections on the roads and the impediments confronting the traveler.

We have sometimes sunk into the hubs where there were no fence rails and then we would fall to work unloading and afterwards reloading our thousand pounds of baggage. We have waded, on an average, one slough per hour, in order to lighten the stage. Sometimes we have had to wade the worst sloughs with boxes or trunks on our shoulders. We reached here at 11½ o'clock last night in lumber wagons, having abandoned the coach on account of the roads. Our boots were full of water and our nether garments completely saturated.

In addition to the roads, the insect pests drew Eggleston's attention, and he professed himself unable to find words to depict the voracity of Red River mosquitoes. "We threw our netting over our faces but they worked their way through every opening. For hour after hour they found their way to face, hands, eyes and nose but with stoical fortitude we 'grinned and bore it.'" Despite these drawbacks,

¹³ *Minnesotian*, June 22, 1860.

however, Eggleston still viewed the country with enthusiasm.

The finest country I have ever seen is on the ridges that separate the waters of the Mississippi from those of Red River. The country is beautifully undulating, and completely dotted over with the most beautiful poplar groves. Among these little hills and groves, are lakes of the most enchanting beauty. . . . The left hand of the Sauk is tolerably well timbered, but the right has hardly a tree on it. I am satisfied from the inquiries I have made, that the soil both on the Sauk river and on the "divide" is not surpassed by any in the world. And yet not one claim in ten is yet taken in all this magnificent section of our State.

The correspondent ended his letter with the remark that, although Alexandria and Evansville were listed as towns, the former had only two families resident and the latter one. At Breckenridge, where a new two-story hotel was building, the party stopped at a sod tavern. Eggleston also commented on the fare which obtained at the various houses en route: salt pork, raw bread, and potatoes, and coffee which invariably grew weaker the farther west they advanced.¹⁴

At the next stage of the journey, Georgetown on the Red River, the traveler noticed especially the conformation of the valley, its flatness and wetness, and the marked topographical change away from the water.

The whole country there is beautifully undulating and very fertile. The soil in the Valley of the Red River is, as far as I can learn, very much like that of Indiana and Ohio, — not so quick as that of Minnesota generally, but very fertile. It is on this account that it is not profitable to raise Indian corn here, though it is a fine wheat and potatoe country. The water has not that transparent appearance here that it has through other parts of the State.

He observed also that the greatest obstacle to settlement of the Red River Valley was the absence of timber and yet, predicting on the basis of what had happened in the treeless prairies of Illinois, he foresaw a future population for the area.

¹⁴ *Minnesotian*, July 6, 1860.

At Georgetown the party was welcomed by the howls of dogs and the shouts of the *bois brûlés*. More formally the travelers were received by Alexander Murray, the manager of the Hudson's Bay Company trading post, and by Isaac Atwater, the United States government surveyor. Eggleston was unquestionably glad to be met so hospitably and to be once more in reputable lodgings, but he did not speak well of the dish with which the group was regaled the first night—"rub-a-boo" or pemmican cooked with potatoes!

Chief among the sights at Georgetown was the "Anson Northup," the tiny river steamer which was to convey the scientific party to Fort Garry. Eggleston described vividly how the entire population of the hamlet, twenty-five in all, awaited eagerly the whistle and smoke puff of "the little forerunner of civilization." Nor has anyone better depicted the vessel itself as it rounded the bend:

One chimney—rough looking hull—and a steering oar fixed on in front to aid the pilot in making the sudden turns necessary in order to navigate the bends. I could not imagine that this non-descript, but neat looking little affair, had any features of resemblance—any traits in common with the steamboats below—until I saw the colored chambermaid looking out one of the port holes intended to represent windows. Diminutive as is the Anson Northrup [*sic*], she is a model of neatness within.

It was not always, however, that the traveler superseded the clergyman in Eggleston, and he proudly recorded for the gratification of the readers of his letter that, to the best of his knowledge, he had preached the first Protestant sermon ever heard in the upper Red River country.¹⁵

Eggleston's last letter was written when he was still

¹⁵ *Minnesotian*, July 11, 1860. Another description of the "Anson Northup" on the Red River is included in an article entitled "The-Man-That-Draws-the-Handcart," which Eggleston wrote for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* of February, 1894. "Nothing could have been more awkward than that tub of a boat," according to Eggleston, "plunging every now and again headlong into the banks despite the frantic exertions of the pilot, aided by the long steering-oar on the bow. We steamed some three hundred miles, according to the estimate of the boatmen, without seeing on the banks a human being or a house."

aboard the "Anson Northup" and ready to land at Fort Garry, with the vessel carrying the Stars and Stripes at the bow and the Union Jack at the stern. He had much to say of the obstacles of river navigation.

The river above the mouth of Red Lake River is very narrow and is so exceedingly crooked that it is not unusual for the boat to run toward every point of the compass in the distance of two miles. Two men stand constantly by the steering oar, that is on the bow, to which I alluded before. If there is a very short bend to the right the pilot sings out "right," which is repeated by the captain to the hands at the oar, when the blade of the oar is immediately turned to the right of the bow and dipped. When the boat is turned sufficiently the pilot calls out "that'll do!"—when the oar is lifted. In some parts of the river the oar is kept constantly at work and even then it is impossible to turn the boat quick enough.

Indeed, the mate Hutchinson felt so strongly about the constant twisting of the channel that he ordered the stoker to use crooked sticks to assist the vessel around the bends! Eggleston had warm praise for all the officers of the little craft, the captain, the pilot, the clerk, and the mate. But the most interesting character he encountered on the trip was young George Northrup, already widely renowned as scout, frontiersman, and Indian fighter. Northrup, about whom Eggleston later wrote a long magazine article, was the "Kit Carson of the Northwest," amiable, soft-spoken, and unusually cultivated for one in his environment. The traveler described Northrup as an authority on Indian life and linguistics and altogether one of the most remarkable men he had ever met.¹⁰

Eggleston closed his letters to the *Minnesotian* with several comments on the people and the topography of the region.

I have seen Pembina. Five houses and a Cree wigwam compose the metropolis.—As your readers nearly all know the principal part of the settlers live at St. Josephs 31 miles up the Pembina river. There are some settlements above Pembina on the Red river and some on the Pembina river, containing in all about 40 families.

¹⁰ "The-Man-That-Draws-the-Handcart" is essentially a biographical sketch of Northrup, who was watchman on the "Anson Northup."

The Red River, he observed, abounded in fish, notably sturgeon and catfish of enormous size, buffalo still came within thirty miles of the water, while elk and deer frequented its tributaries. The Red Lake River he described as larger than its neighbor with its banks better timbered. The land of its watershed was almost all tillable too, but navigation on the stream was difficult because of the frequent rapids.¹⁷

At Fort Garry Eggleston left the party of scientists, presumably returning by the same route as that already described. Why he did not continue the whole distance to the Saskatchewan River is a matter of conjecture. Possibly he feared the hazards and the exposure of the remainder of the trip; more likely he was too conscientious to remain away from his congregation for an extended period. At any rate the latter part of July found him once more in St. Paul, and on July 21 the *Minnesotian* remarked: "Rev. Edward Egglestone, pastor of the Market street Methodist Church, who has been absent during the past few weeks, has returned, and will preach as usual tomorrow [*Sunday*]."

Shortly after the young minister resumed his parochial duties he was transferred, this time to Stillwater, where he served during the remainder of 1860 and for most of 1861. The *Stillwater Messenger* for September 4, 1860, announced that Eggleston had been appointed Methodist minister, and subsequent issues of the paper refer to his performance of various routine duties: conducting prayer meetings, officiating at funerals and weddings, preaching on certain occasions. Moreover, because the young clergyman's term of service in Stillwater coincided roughly with the opening of the Civil War, his name was linked with various efforts to exhort and provide for the comfort of recruits for the army. One highly interesting memory of Eggleston's sojourn in the St. Croix Valley town is a sermon which he delivered shortly after the firing on Fort Sumter. His congregation liked it so well that they prevailed upon the editor

¹⁷ *Minnesotian*, July 18, 1860.

of the *Messenger* to reprint it in the issue of May 28, 1861. In this sermon Eggleston spoke on "Christian Patriotism" and declared that although he disliked flinging the weight of the pulpit into political strife, he felt that government was ordained by God and that a revolt against government was a crime against God. He professed a hatred for war but he asserted that even Christians were allowed to protect themselves, and that anarchy, despotism, and slavery were worse evils than war. Finally, he affirmed that it was the duty of good Americans to defend their country, and he expressed himself wholeheartedly in favor of the North.

Although few other details of his life in Stillwater survive, there are several allusions to his intense love of literature while he was quartered on the shores of the St. Croix and to the extensive reading (and the somewhat abortive writing) which he did at the time. "I remember particularly," he wrote in after years, "a paper on Beranger and his songs, which I published while trying to evangelize the red-shirted lumbermen on the St. Croix." His first meeting with Milton's poetry is also, curiously enough, inextricably linked with the primitive background of the lumbering country. For one night as he stopped for a lodging at a hut near the river he found a copy of "L'Allegro," and he records how he looked out of the window at the "deep trap-rock dalles through which the dark, pine-stained waters of the St. Croix River run swiftly," and how he saw a raft with several red-shirted lumbermen aboard emerge from the gorge into the open reaches below, at the same time that he was allowing his fancy to dwell on the lines of the great Puritan poet.¹⁸

During this time Eggleston was also becoming more prominent in the administration of his church. At the annual conference held at Red Wing in the autumn following his return from the Red River Valley he was chosen an

¹⁸ Eggleston, in *The Forum*, 10:290; Meredith Nicholson, *The Provincial American and Other Papers*, 41 (Boston and New York, 1912).

elder; he had already been named to two standing committees, those on Sunday schools and on periodical literature. The *Minutes* of the session contain two reports signed by Eggleston in his capacity of committeeman, one recommending the establishment of a church paper in "one, and, if possible, in both the Scandinavian dialects," and the other suggesting that Methodist ministers be dissuaded from establishing independent periodicals in opposition to those edited by the church boards. In particular Eggleston recognized the increasing utility of newspapers and magazines in proselytism and urged that even greater use be made of such organs.¹⁹ At this same Red Wing conference he was appointed a deacon and was selected as a member of the visiting committee to Hamline University for 1861.

After his service of a year as resident minister in Stillwater, Eggleston requested that he be granted a superannuated relationship for 1861-62; consequently he was not assigned a station and was listed instead among fifteen superannuated preachers. It may seem odd that a man of twenty-five should be included in a group composed of the old and infirm, but Eggleston's health was never robust and he expended it so recklessly that he was obliged to take periodic rests in order to continue at all.

The years 1862 and 1863 found him in St. Paul again, this time as pastor of the Jackson Street Methodist Church. Eggleston returned to the capital with considerable eagerness. He had just recovered from a long illness, his family was well, and his congregation welcomed him sincerely. In a letter to Thomas Simpson, dated November 10, 1862, he remarked optimistically about his position and recounted how his parishioners had recently presented Mrs. Eggleston with "an elegant cloak and bonnet" and himself with "a splendid overcoat, cap, gloves & overshoes." Moreover, "All these articles are in about as costly a style as they could

¹⁹ Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes*, 1860, p. 25, 26.

be. You can imagine that such a manifestation of kindly feeling at the beginning of my year is very grateful." In the same letter Eggleston referred to a recent visit in Winona during the annual conference of the Methodist church and commended the hospitality of the Simpsons. "As it was I lacked only you in order to [have] the highest possible enjoyment of the session. I never felt so much how pleasant a place Winona was until then. I think a year there would cure me."²⁰

The Jackson Street church in St. Paul was perhaps the most important Methodist church in the state, what with a hundred and twenty members and five probationers and property valued in excess of five thousand dollars. Eggleston's own salary, his "estimated claim," was six hundred dollars. During his incumbency there was a marked increase in Sunday school activity, "Mr. Eggleston being known as a Sunday School man." He was also given the credit for having first devised the Sunday school railroad excursion. One other detail of his second St. Paul pastorate is worth recording, since it connects Eggleston as a minister with the Sioux Outbreak of 1862. On November 4 of that year he and the Reverend J. D. Pope conducted funeral services for seven members of Eggleston's congregation who had been killed in Indian campaigns.²¹

At the annual meeting of the Methodist church which was held in St. Paul in the fall of 1863, Eggleston submitted a report on the spread of Methodism among the Scandinavian populace and pointed out the fruitful field which awaited missionary activity. But he counseled great expedition lest "the ascendancy of the pure doctrines of Wesleyanism" be successfully challenged by "the effete

²⁰ The letter is in the Larson-Town collection, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Thomas Simpson was a prominent lawyer and banker in Winona.

²¹ Hobart, *Methodism in Minnesota*, 168; Earnest C. Parish, *A Brief History of the Church Known as Market Street, Jackson Street, Central Park* (St. Paul, 1933).

superstitions of pseudo-Lutheranism." Among his recommendations to gain the desired objective were field work, added financial support, and foreign-language periodicals.²²

At the end of his pastorate in St. Paul Eggleston again pleaded to be excused from parochial bonds because of ill health, and he was not assigned to another pastorate until the end of 1864. But meanwhile he played rather an important role in the municipal life of St. Paul. Temporarily freed from his ministerial duties he found it necessary to cast about for some other form of employment which would be remunerative without exacting so much of his vitality. Throughout 1864 he was agent for the Home Life Insurance Company; in addition he became a kind of expert showman, giving illustrated stereopticon lectures on travel or about celebrated men at various halls and churches in the Twin Cities; finally, he was instrumental in organizing a municipal free library and he served as the first public librarian in St. Paul.²³

Various newspaper notices testify to public interest in Eggleston's stereopticon ventures. The *Saint Paul Press* of January 3, 1864, announced that Eggleston would give a display at Ingersoll's Hall, using a large canvas of 225 square feet and presenting views of Windsor Castle, Melrose Abbey, and other famous scenes. Two days later the *Press* reported that the exhibition was disappointing because the supply of gas, which Eggleston apparently manufactured himself, had leaked away and that as a consequence the projection was blurred and dim. Later in the month, however, these technical difficulties had apparently been overcome, for the *Press* of January 27 pronounced the en-

²² Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes*, 1863, p. 29.

²³ The following notice was inserted in the *Saint Paul Daily Press* and the *Saint Paul Pioneer* at intervals throughout 1863 and 1864: "Home Life Insurance Company, New York, offers the most liberal advantages to parties desiring to effect insurance." It was signed by the "Rev. Edward Eggleston, State Agent for Minnesota."

tertainment an unqualified success: "He has got his instrument in complete working order now, and it threw up the views on the canvass last night with wonderful effect, to which the spectators testified by their frequent applause." Throughout January and February Eggleston used his stereopticon to great advantage, educating and delighting his audiences at the same time. His first displays were apparently free, but with the perfecting of the instrument he began to charge admission, twenty-five cents for adults, fifteen cents for children. The money was presumably used to defray necessary expenses, since Eggleston showed some local views which had been specially prepared for stereopticon projection. He even went so far as to take photographs of living celebrities, some of them local personages, and to present them to his enraptured audiences.²⁴

More important than Eggleston's lecture work, however, was his effort to establish a public library. Up to the fall of 1863 St. Paul had had no institution of the sort, although both the Mercantile Library Association and the Y.M.C.A. maintained libraries for their own members. On October 30, however, the directors of both organizations convened in the rooms of the Ingersoll Block and formed the St. Paul Library Association. The officers for the remainder of 1863 included D. W. Ingersoll as president, D. A. Robertson as vice president, C. E. Mayo as recording secretary, William Dawson as treasurer, and Edward Eggleston as corresponding secretary and librarian. Shares in the new library association were valued at five dollars and businessmen were urged to contribute. By a fusion of the resources of the older institutions, the infant library began with about a thousand volumes, and it was agreed that a lease should be taken on the Y.M.C.A. rooms on the third floor of the Ingersoll Block at Bridge Square.²⁵

²⁴ *Press*, January 28, 31, February 4, 6, 23, 1864.

²⁵ E. D. Neill, *History of Ramsey County and the City of St. Paul*, 400 (Minneapolis, 1881); *Press*, October 31, 1863.

Naturally the work of organizing and unifying took some little time, but on November 11, 1863, the local papers carried the following notice anent the library:

The St. Paul library will be opened to-day. The Library and Reading Room will be kept open every day except Sunday, from 2 o'clock P. M., till 9 o'clock P. M. There are now about 2,000 volumes, and as many more will be added in the spring. After the first of January the Reading Room will be supplied with the best European and American periodicals. The payment of \$2.00 per annum entitles the person paying to take books from the library under the restrictions of the By-laws, and to all the privileges of the Reading Room.

EDWARD EGGLESTON, Librarian.

Eggleston's work in directing the library and in making its facilities generally available was not unappreciated. The *Press* for December 11, 1863, remarked that the institution was progressing admirably and praised its head. "Mr. Eggleston, who has charge of the arrangement and classification of the volumes, has peculiar talents as a librarian. We wish his services may be secured permanently in that capacity." But the first librarian did not remain long at his work. Late in January another meeting of the board was held at which Eggleston was named a director, but no mention of a librarian was made in the press; and by June of 1864 E. E. Edwards had become the librarian.²⁶

At the annual conference of the Methodist church in 1864 Eggleston was again assigned to a pastorate, this time in Winona, and late in the same year he began his service in his last Minnesota station. The Winona church was also an important one; its congregation numbered a hundred and sixty-five members and twenty-two probationers, and the church property was valued at four thousand dollars. The minister was paid an annual salary of eight hundred and fifty dollars and was allowed a hundred dollars for rental of the parsonage. During his residence in southern Minnesota, Eggleston figured rather prominently in community

²⁶ *Pioneer*, November 11, 1863; *Press*, November 11, 1863, January 21, June 8, 1864.

life. In the winter of 1866, for example, he was one of the speakers chosen to give a series of lectures at Court House Hall under the auspices of the Young Men's Library Association; among the other lecturers were Judge Arthur Mac Arthur of Milwaukee and Bishop Henry B. Whipple. Even in his strictly ecclesiastical duties, it is of interest to note, Eggleston mingled the secular with the religious, for the subject of one of his Sunday evening sermons was "The Popular Literature of the Day." At the annual church conference for 1865 he served on several committees, continuing his work on Scandinavian proselytism and helping in the commemorative services in honor of the centenary of American Methodism.²⁷

Further evidence of Eggleston's energy during his Minnesota residence is his active participation in the Sanitary Fair held at Chicago in May and June of 1865. The proceeds of this exhibition were devoted to the hospitalization of Union soldiers. Early in the winter of 1865 Eggleston, who later was appointed special agent for the Northwest, urged that Minnesota citizens contribute either in money or in goods so as to make the exposition a success. On February 18 he wrote to Governor Stephen Miller from Winona, urging him to institute legislation similar to that recently enacted in Illinois so that the Minnesota exhibit would have legislative endorsement and funds. "I trust your Excellency will pardon me for burdening one so busy as yourself with so voluminous a correspondence," Eggleston remarked to the governor. "If I had one whit less confidence in your interest in the soldier's welfare I would hesitate to do it." In a second letter to Governor Miller, written from Winona on April 1, 1865, Eggleston spoke optimistically about the Sanitary Fair and noted that agricultural products were already arriving for exhibition.²⁸ Thus the final Minnesota

²⁷ *Winona Daily Republican*, January 27, 30, 1866; Minnesota Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Minutes*, 1865.

²⁸ The letters are in the Governors' Archives, in the custody of the Minnesota Historical Society.

display in Chicago probably was to a large extent Eggleston's achievement.

Until the late spring of 1866 Eggleston remained in Winona, but then ill health compelled him to resign his pastorate. At this time, too, he severed his connections with the church militant, for he never again occupied a denominational pulpit. His later Brooklyn pastorate, from 1874 to 1879, was strictly nonsectarian. His name remained on the rolls of the Minnesota conference until 1876, first as supernumerary and later as superannuated preacher. But when he left Minnesota for Evanston, Illinois, in April of 1866 to become associate editor of the *Little Corporal*, a widely circulated juvenile paper, he definitely abandoned the ministry in favor of journalism. He did not leave Winona unheralded. According to the *Republican*, "Ill health compelled him to relinquish his ministerial profession some time ago, and seek an avocation better adapted to his feeble constitution." After noting Eggleston's new location, the paper remarked:

This is a position to which Mr. Eggleston, by virtue of his admirable talents as a writer for the young, is peculiarly adapted, and we do not doubt that he will achieve success in the path thus chosen. His many friends in this city will regret that he has determined to leave them, yet they will find frequent occasion, doubtless, to rejoice at the opportunity afforded by his new position to listen to his pleasant and entertaining contributions to the periodical literature of the day. Success attend him.²⁹

²⁹ *Republican*, April 24, August 11, 1866. Eggleston was still nominally pastor of the Winona Methodist Episcopal Church as late as August 11 and probably until the annual meeting convened. On January 16, 1875, he returned to Winona to present a lecture on "The Paradise of Childhood." The following comment on his appearance is from the *Republican* of January 18: "Dr. Eggleston is a rapid and entertaining talker, thoroughly imbued with the sentiment of his lecture, which he impresses upon the minds of his auditors. It was a thoroughly satisfactory and enjoyable lecture and left much food for thought. At the close a number of his old friends pressed forward to shake him cordially by the hand and congratulate him upon his fine address." Eggleston later presented the same lecture at Mankato as one of a series given during the winter of 1874-75. It is reported in the *Mankato Weekly Record* for January 30, 1875.

In all his work Eggleston was notable for his sincerity and his enthusiasm. Yet it was only natural that the young minister's departure from religious circles was not accepted with equanimity by his co-workers. While according him full credit for his fervent labors and while loath to impute his resignation to mercenary motives, they nevertheless found it difficult to reconcile the writing of fiction with ministerial dignity. Novels, even in the decade of the Civil War, were not wholly respectable, especially in a community settled at least in part by New England stock. Thus the Reverend Cyrus Brooks, long Eggleston's colleague in the field, could praise him warmly for his brilliance and persistence but could not excise a word of blame from his tribute:

He had grand capabilities for Sunday School work, and in this field won his greenest and most enduring laurels. It must have been for his success here, that he was made a Doctor of Divinity. His present occupation, novel writing, seems out of harmony with the ministerial calling, and has brought upon him severe, and perhaps not wholly unmerited, censure. But those who know him best, will be slow to believe him mercenary, or false to his convictions of right.

McKinley, more magnanimous, failed to mention Eggleston's later pursuits, but implied that it was infirmity of health only that drove him out of the ministry.³⁰ It is quite obvious to any student of Eggleston, however, that he always nursed secretly the desire to write. As a boy he experimented with type and essayed to learn the printer's trade. His early letters show distinct literary talent, and his official reports to the hierarchy of the church are couched in a style far superior to that of the average circuit rider. No doubt circumstances drove him to literature the more quickly, but one infers that such was his destination regardless of other temporary interests. Such a supposition is strengthened, moreover, by the apathy which Eggleston in later life experienced toward Methodism and indeed toward any regular church. In the final result it was neither ill health nor finan-

³⁰ Hobart, *Methodism in Minnesota*, 232; McKinley, *Minnesota Methodism*, 65.

cial return which impelled him to letters as a profession; Eggleston would have been happy nowhere else.

Seven years after Eggleston left Minnesota he published the *Mystery of Metropolisville*, his one novel with a Minnesota setting.³¹ His purpose in this book was to sketch the land mania that had seized the people of the Northwest in 1856 and especially to portray the shyster lawyers and the land sharks who batted on the gullibility and cupidity of the immigrants. At his town of Red Owl in the spring of that year money was worth five and six per cent per month, corner lots doubled in value overnight, and town property was estimated at a hundred dollars a front foot. Speculation was ubiquitous. The mushroom growth of villages and their equally sudden obsolescence—as witness Ignatius Donnelly's Nininger—Eggleston portrayed well. His character Plausaby, moreover, had many counterparts in real life. Plausaby later became a director of the St. Paul and Big Gun River Valley Land Grant Railroad and, thus launched on a business career, entered into inflated schemes which were eventually too much even for him. His policy was like the fashion of 1856, “to invest everything you had in first payments, and then to sell out at an advance before the second became due.” In sketching such a character Eggleston was only representing what he himself had seen on his earliest visit to Minnesota. Thus the incident in the novel in which the citizens of Metropolisville remove the county seat from Perritaut is a fictional reworking of the events of 1855, when the county seat of Rice County, originally established at Cannon City, was removed to Faribault.³² The historical rivalry of the two towns is well depicted in the novel.

Even as an experienced novelist, Eggleston did not shine

³¹ The *Mystery of Metropolisville* (New York, 1873) was published originally as a serial in *Hearth and Home* from December 7, 1872, through April 26, 1873.

³² *Mystery of Metropolisville*, 153; Franklyn Curtiss-Wedge, *History of Rice and Steele Counties*, 1: 332 (Chicago, 1910).

in the construction of plots, and there is no point in recounting the episodic structure of the *Mystery of Metropolisville*. The romance which lends a specious unity to the book and the characters of the lovers are alike sentimental and conventional. His forte lay not in such matters. But as a realist Eggleston was meticulous and consistent. If his hero and his villain are stereotyped, he took great care to make the stage driver Whiskey Jim, the frontiersman from Indiana, and the speculator Plausaby good genre portraits. Scenes and incidents are likewise full of verisimilitude: the sod tavern at which the Red Owl-Metropolisville stage paused; the occasional homestead where the owner provided the traveler a breakfast of coffee, fried salt pork, and biscuits of various degrees of hardness; the midwinter sleigh ride from the Fuller House in St. Paul to the penitentiary in Stillwater with the manacled prisoner buried in furs. Vivid too is the description of early newspapers, symbolized by the *Wheat County Weakly Windmill*.

As a novel the *Mystery of Metropolisville* has the faults which Eggleston never completely eliminated from his writing—didacticism, rambling structure, characters which lack passion and blood. But as a reflection of frontier conditions it is as truthful an account of early Minnesota as the *Hoosier Schoolmaster* is of early Indiana. Eggleston was a careful observer and a skilled artist, even if an innovator, in the use of dialect. His books furnish an unsurpassed record of a way of life and of a race of people now completely departed.

Nevertheless, one novel seems a small result of nine years of strenuous life in a pioneer community. At the time of Eggleston's death the *St. Paul Dispatch* in its issue of September 5, 1902, remarked succinctly: "He stayed throughout the period of the Indian outbreak, but the event did not burn into his literary soul." The great Sioux revolt of 1862 he allowed to go unchronicled, together with other stirring events in the youth of Minnesota. Indeed, save for

a few desultory references to Indians and pioneer customs, the only other fictional use Eggleston made of his residence in the upper Mississippi Valley was in a short story entitled "The Gunpowder Plot."³³ Obviously the scenes of his boyhood, the charming village of Vevay and the forests of the Ohio, had more artistic appeal for him than the surroundings of his adopted home. Yet it is not hard to believe that his Minnesota sojourn left an indelible imprint upon Edward Eggleston. Restored to health by an active life in a more salubrious climate, he won wide recognition; and when he left Minnesota, mature and experienced, he was prominent throughout the state in religious, educational, and philanthropic work.³⁴ Indeed it might be said that Eggleston and Minnesota grew up together.

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³³ *Scribner's Magazine*, 2: 252-259 (July, 1871). This story concerns a practical joke and a stereotyped romance, but the setting is the country near the Pomme de Terre River and the valley of the Sauk and the characters include half-breeds, Indians, and settlers.

³⁴ One anecdote about Eggleston as a Sunday school teacher even got into the "Editor's Drawer" of *Harper's Magazine*, 30: 400 (February, 1865). "Rev. Mr. E—, of St. Paul, Minnesota, was inimitable as a child's orator," it reads, "and was never as we know of disconcerted in addressing the little folks but once. He was addressing some Sunday-school scholars, and was in his usual popular and effective way enforcing the duty of gratitude to God for His blessing. 'What,' said he, 'would you say to me if I were to give each one of you a fine new suit of clothes?' From every part of his youthful audience bright eyes twinkled with delight, and a chorus of boyish voices answered, 'Bully for you!'"

SOME EARLY MINNESOTA BELLS¹

The sweet sound of bells is almost forgotten in this modern age of noise and hurry. Impatient automobile horns, screeching brakes, and clanging streetcars drown out their melodious peals. Modern means of communication and of telling time make their summons seem superfluous. To the early pioneers of Minnesota, however, bells were important and their ringing was a welcome sound in the stillness. It was a symbol of civilization to them, a link with the life left behind. "Let a traveler hear the sound of a church bell and he feels secure and knows that he is in a civilized land," wrote James M. Goodhue, editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer*, when he listened to the first church bells in St. Paul.²

The ringing of bells has for centuries called people to action in time of danger, summoned them to public gatherings, and signaled the reading of proclamations, the arrival of ships, the announcement of news. School bells have hurried the lagging feet of countless children. Church bells have admonished, rejoiced, or tolled, according to the occasion. The brazen "loud alarum bells" described by Poe have "screamed out their affright in the startled ear of night."

All sorts of bells were brought to Minnesota in the pioneer period, and bells were put to all sorts of uses. Small hand bells were used as dinner bells, school bells, and church bells. Church bells were used as alarm bells; steamboat bells became school bells. Many communities cherish, or perhaps possess unknowingly, bells that have played an important part in their history. The stories of some of them

¹ A revised version of a paper read before the annual August institute of the Minnesota Public Health Association meeting in St. Paul on August 10, 1937. Under the title "Some Historic Bells of Minnesota," the paper appears in its earlier form in the October issue of *Everybody's Health*, a monthly magazine published by the association. Ed.

² *Minnesota Pioneer*, November 14, 1850.

are recorded in reminiscences, letters, and newspapers. Some are still in use in churches and schools.

The Minnesota Historical Society has in its museum what was doubtless the first dinner bell ever rung in St. Paul, a hand bell used by Mrs. Henry Jackson when St. Paul was a mere cluster of log huts. Henry Jackson opened the first store in St. Paul in 1842, in a log cabin on the river bank near Jackson Street, which was named for him.

The largest bell on exhibit in the Historical Building came from the frigate "Minnesota," which saw active service in the navy during the Civil War. When this ship was launched in 1855 it was christened with water brought from the Minnesota River by Henry M. Rice, who was then representing Minnesota Territory in Congress. The vessel took part in the famous battle with the "Merrimac" at Hampton Roads in 1862 and in other engagements of the Civil War. For many years after the war it was a training ship for the navy. Both the steering wheel and the bell were obtained for the historical society after the ship was sold and dismantled.

Probably the earliest bells of any size to be heard in what is now Minnesota were steamboat bells. The first steamboat that came up the Mississippi to Fort Snelling was the "Virginia," which arrived from St. Louis on May 10, 1823. It was followed by the "Rambler," and in succeeding years by steamboats which bore such colorful names as "War Eagle," "Highland Mary," "Time and Tide," "Olive Branch," and "Prairie Bird." The arrival of the boat was announced by both whistles and bells. In 1847, when Harriet Bishop came up the Mississippi in the "Lynx" to open a school in St. Paul, she noted that the Indian and half-breed children playing about their homes upon the river banks "would flee like frightened deer" at the sound of the boat bell. When the boat reached the Indian village of Kaposia, the "ringing of the bell occasioned a grand rush, and

with telegraphic speed, every man, woman and child flew to the landing."³ At the white settlements also the steamboat bell summoned excited citizens to the levee. It heralded the coming of long-awaited letters, of much-needed supplies, of new settlers, and of visitors. When the "Dr. Franklin No. 2," the first boat to reach St. Paul in the spring of 1849, arrived at the landing in the midst of a thunderstorm "almost the entire male population rushed to the landing—hundreds clustered on the shore unmindful of the storm." The cause of the great excitement was the desire to hear a particular bit of news, and a great shout went up when it was learned that the bill for the organization of Minnesota Territory had become a law.⁴

Steamboat bells differed widely in tone. George B. Merriam tells how he, as a boy, learned to distinguish the various whistles and bells; if a boat was one of the regular packets he did not need to see it to name it. "A boy that could not distinguish by ear alone, a majority of the boats landing at the levee from year to year," he says, "was considered as deficient in his education. There was one" bell, he continues, "the music of which will live in my memory so long as life lasts. The tone of the 'Ocean Wave's' bell was deep, rich, sonorous, and when heard at a distance on a still clear night, was concentrated sweetness. Were I rich, I would, were it a possibility, find that bell and hang it in some bell-less steeple where I might hear again its splendid tones, calling not alone to worship, but summoning for me from the misty past pictures indelibly printed upon boyish



BUCKEYE BELL FOUNDRY,

Established in 1837.
Superior Bells for Churches,
Schools, etc., of **Pure Cop-
per and Tin**, fully war-
ranted, and mounted with
our **Latest Improved**
Rotary Hangings, the
best in use.

Illustrated Catalogue sent free.
VANDUZEN & TIFT,
102 & 104 N. Second St., Cincinnati.

A BELL ADVERTISEMENT

[From the *Minnesota Teacher* (St. Paul),
September, 1872.]

³ Harriet E. Bishop, *Floral Home*, 60 (New York, 1857).

⁴ *Pioneer*, April 28, 1849.

senses."⁵ The "Ocean Wave," a side-wheeler built at Elizabeth, Kentucky, in 1854, was destroyed by fire at Frontenac in 1868. Since its roof bell was the "sweetest toned bell on the river," several men wanted it. Unfortunately, when it was salvaged from the wreck it was found to be cracked; but with skillful mending a fairly good tone was obtained, and it did service on several other steamers until it finally disappeared down the river.

The Minnesota Historical Society has also in its possession the bell of the "Argo," which in 1847 was running as a regular packet between Galena and St. Paul, making side trips to Stillwater. In the fall of that year it sank at the foot of Argo Island above Winona, and the following year its bell was salvaged and sold to citizens of Stillwater, who placed it on their schoolhouse. Thus it became one of the earliest school bells in Minnesota. Eventually it was cracked and broken and no longer useful; and in 1879 the Stillwater board of education had it inscribed and presented it to the historical society. A steamboat bell found its way also to the belfry of a schoolhouse in Excelsior. It was first used on the "Phil Sheridan," running between St. Louis and St. Paul, and was said to be a gift of some southern women who came annually to Minnesota on that boat. When the "Phil Sheridan" ceased active service the bell was secured for use on the "Belle of Minnetonka" and its silver tones became a familiar sound to summer residents on the shores of Lake Minnetonka. Citizens of Excelsior secured it for a schoolhouse when the "Belle of Minnetonka" was dismantled.⁶

A bell salvaged from a sunken boat hangs in the chapel of Calvary Cemetery in Mankato. It was not a steamboat bell, but a church bell ordered from Germany for a chapel

⁵ George B. Merrick, *Old Times on the Upper Mississippi*, 33 (Cleveland, 1909).

⁶ Randolph Edgar, *A Record of Old Boats*, 30-33 (Minneapolis, 1933).

somewhere in the West. When the steamboat that carried it sank in the Mississippi, the bell was lost with it but was later salvaged and sold to the missionary at the Winnebago Indian Agency in Blue Earth County. After the Sioux Outbreak, the Winnebago were removed from Minnesota and the mission was abandoned. The bell then went to the Church of Saint Peter and Paul's in Mankato. After serving as a church bell for a few years, it became the call bell in a parochial school. Finally it was placed in the cemetery, where it has tolled for many years.⁷

The missionaries who labored among the Indians when Minnesota was still an unsettled wilderness felt the need of bells. Without them they sometimes had to go from tent to tent to call the congregation together at church time. Some brought small bells with them. Father Francis Pierz at Grand Portage in 1838 had a little bell with which he gave the signal for morning and evening prayers. John F. Aiton, who, with his wife, came to Minnesota in the summer of 1848 as a Presbyterian missionary to the Sioux, brought with him a hand bell which served as a church and school bell in many places—first at Red Wing, where it summoned the Indian boys and girls to school, and later in Indian mission schools at Kaposia and Yellow Medicine and at a school for white children at Lake Prairie in Nicollet County. It remained a keepsake in the Aiton family for many years, and it was finally presented to Macalester College. Another hand bell, which was used to call people to church services in early Stillwater, is said to be preserved by the descendants of William T. Boutwell, who is reported to have walked up and down the streets of the village ringing his bell when it was time for his congregation to assemble. Stephen R. Riggs and his wife, who lived for a time at the Lac qui Parle mission in western Minnesota, secured a bell for the little church of unburnt brick which was built in

⁷ Wilhelm von Festenberg-Pakisch, *Die St. Peter und Pauls-Gemeinde in Mankato, Minnesota*, 55 (Mankato, 1899).

1841. Mrs. Riggs wrote to her mother in 1846: "You will, I think, feel gratified to know that there are some things pleasant and encouraging here, notwithstanding the discouragements. The sound of the church going bell is heard here—the bell which we purchased with the avails of moccasins donated by the church members."⁸

The church of St. Boniface, erected in the thirties, had as members many Catholic voyageurs who lived in the Red River Valley. St. Boniface was beyond the present borders of Minnesota, but since the voyageurs played such a colorful role in the fur-trade period of its history, the poem written by Whittier about the bells of this church seems to belong to this state. In it the call of wild geese, the Indian's yell, and the voice of the north wind mingle with the tones of the bells as they come to the voyageur.

The voyageur smiles as he listens
To the sound that grows apace;
Well he knows the vesper ringing
Of the bells of St. Boniface.

The bells of the Roman Mission
That call from their turrets twain,
To the boatman on the river,
To the hunter on the plain.⁹

It is known that at least one bell foundry existed in Minnesota. This was established in 1864 by William Bleedorn, a native of Germany, at Watertown in Carver County. Bleedorn seems to have specialized in the manufacture of cowbells, which he shipped to all parts of the United States. His foundry operated until the early nineties, and was said to have had an annual output of from three to five thousand bells.¹⁰

Two large church bells came to St. Paul in November, 1850. One was cast at the world-famous Meneely foundry

⁸Stephen R. Riggs, *Mary and I: Forty Years with the Sioux*, 102 (Chicago, 1880).

⁹John G. Whittier, "The Red River Voyageur," in *Home Ballads and Poems*, 151 (Boston, 1860).

¹⁰*History of the Minnesota Valley*, 384 (Minneapolis, 1882).

at West Troy, New York, and the other at the Hanks foundry in Cincinnati. Andrew Meneely, who established his foundry in 1826, had so improved on earlier methods of making bells that his products were in demand throughout the world. His chimes were particularly sought after and won many prizes at fairs and exhibitions. He was able, it

Church Bells and Town Clocks.

AN experience of more than 25 years has given the subscriber an opportunity of obtaining the various combinations of metals, the heat requisite for securing the greatest solidity, strength and most melodious tones.

Church, Factory, and Steamboat Bells, constantly on hand, and *peals* of any number furnished. Those of Trinity Church, New-York, were completed at this Foundry; also the Fire Bells, which are the largest ever cast in this country. For several years past, the highest premiums have been awarded by the N. Y. State Fairs and American Institute. 1031 Bells, averaging 603 lbs each, were cast during the two past years. Improved Iron Yokes are attached, and Springs affixed to the Clappers, which prolongs the sound. Yoke Frame and Wheel complete, can be furnished if required.

Theodolites, and all sorts of Levelling and Surveying instruments on hand.

ANDREW MENEELY.

West Troy, N. Y., July, 1850. 2-131f

MENEELY'S ADVERTISEMENT

[From the *Pioneer*, September 5, 1850.]

was claimed, to predict with accuracy the weight and tone of each bell that he cast, and hundreds of churches purchased his rich, mellow-toned bells. His advertisement was printed in the *Minnesota Pioneer* during the summer and fall of 1850. "Mr. Meneely's bell was the first proper church bell that was ever hung in Minnesota," wrote Goodhue, "and to the editor's ears, its tones were peculiarly sweet, as it reminded him of the fact that the said gentleman had patronized our paper by advertising, and by paying in ad-

vance.”¹¹ This bell was purchased for the First Presbyterian Church, which had just been erected at the corner of Third and St. Peter streets. Two days after it was in place in the belfry another bell arrived for it, an unexpected donation from the maker, George L. Hanks of Cincinnati. The Hanks foundry also had a wide reputation for church bells and chimes, and cast some very large bells for city use. The Presbyterians quickly made arrangements to sell the bell they had purchased to the Methodist church on Market Street. The following Sunday both bells were heard, no doubt stirring nostalgic memories in the hearts of many churchgoers. Goodhue wondered what the Indians in their tents across the river thought about them. He prophesied that in a few years “these sounds would be heard winding along the valley of the Minnesota, across the plains of Nebraska, and echoing among the Rocky mountains, and over the Pacific waves.” When the first official Thanksgiving Day in Minnesota was celebrated on December 26, 1850, the new church bells added much to the observance of the day by pealing merrily at sunrise and sunset.

At St. Paul church bells were sometimes pressed into service as fire alarm bells. In 1854 an ordinance was passed requiring that in case of fire all church bells should be rung diligently by the sextons for twenty minutes, unless the fire was extinguished sooner. The penalty for failure to do this was a fine of two dollars. As there were several church bells by that time in different parts of the town, they were an effective means of rousing not only the volunteer firemen but all the townspeople. One writer records that “Everyone turned out when the fire bells rang. Unless the fire was of sufficient volume to be readily located, the uptown people

¹¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, 12: 532 (New York, 1933); *Pioneer*, November 14, 1850. In the fall of 1856 a “fine toned bell weighing 675 lbs., from the celebrated manufactory of A. Meneely & Sons of West Troy, N. Y.” was purchased for the First Congregational Church of Winona. *Winona Republican*, November 11, 1856.

would be seen rushing downtown, and the downtown people would be seen rushing uptown; in fact, general panic demonium prevailed until the exact location of the fire could be determined."¹²

Mankato has a church bell which served as a fire alarm as well as a general community bell, announcing the arrivals of steamboats, the opening of court, and the call to political and military meetings. During the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, a guard was placed near the bell to ring it in case of an attack by the Indians. It called the people together to hear news that came from the Civil War battlefields. Since it was first hung at the schoolhouse, where the church services were held, it served also as a school bell. The women of the Presbyterian Church bought it in 1857 with money raised by church suppers and bazaars. For a time it hung in a frame at the steamboat levee, where it was particularly useful as a community bell. When the First Presbyterian Church of Mankato was built in 1864, the much-used bell was placed in the belfry and it was thenceforth a regular church bell.¹³

Bells with historic backgrounds and bells evoking memories of student activities are to be found at several Minnesota colleges. In 1928 a tower was erected on the campus of Macalester College and in it was hung an old bell said to have been purchased by the Reverend Edward D. Neill and used for many years in the House of Hope Church. Dr. Neill was the founder of both the church and the college. In a tower of the "Old Main" building at Hamline University is a bell that called students to classes for many years. James J. Hill presented to the St. Paul Seminary a bell from one of the first locomotives of the Great Northern Railroad.

¹² Frank Moore, *Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in St. Paul*, 54 (St. Paul, 1908).

¹³ *Mankato Daily Review*, March 30, 1910.

Goodhue's prediction that the sound of bells would soon be carried westward with the advance of settlement was fulfilled. Bells were the accompaniment of cultural growth and commercial progress. Their ringing from churches, schools, steamboats, and locomotives proclaimed the conquest of the frontier by the sturdy pioneer.

LOIS M. FAWCETT

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

AN UNFAMILIAR ESSAY BY
FREDERICK J. TURNER

Quite early in his professional career Professor Turner evinced an interest in immigration problems, historically considered, as a particular aspect of his central interest—the study of the territorial advance of the American population. In the course of a review of Roosevelt's *Winning of the West*, in 1889 Turner wrote:

To this valley, also, have come migrations from the Old World such as can be compared only with the great Wandering of the Peoples—the Völkerwanderung—of the Middle Ages. A new composite nationality is being produced, a distinct American people, speaking the English tongue, but not English.¹

Once his period of apprenticeship was completed—it terminated when Johns Hopkins conferred the doctorate in 1890—Turner seized the opportunity of planning research projects in this inviting field. As his seminar topic for the college year 1890–91, he selected the study of immigration into Wisconsin.² Turner's approach to the subject was broad and philosophical. Wisconsin had been rocked by controversies between natives and foreign-born, the latter strongly resenting the enactment of the Bennett Law, which prescribed that all schools in the state should give a portion of their instruction in the English language. To the scholar's mind it was clear that immigration, historically treated, opened the gate to a better understanding between native and foreigner.

Toward the close of 1891 Turner published an essay on the "Philosophy of History," in the course of which he took occasion to remark:

¹ *The Dial* (Chicago), 10:71 (August, 1889).

² University of Wisconsin, *Catalogue*, 1889–90, p. 100. The history department announced that its "seminary" for the year would be "in the study of emigration into Wisconsin."

Thus we not only meet Europe outside our borders, but in our very midst. The problem of immigration furnishes many examples of the need of historical study. Consider how our vast western domain has been settled. . . . Every economic change, every political change, every military conscription, every socialistic agitation in Europe has sent us groups of colonists who have passed out on to our prairies to form new self-governing communities, or who have entered the life of our great cities. These men have come to us historical products, they have brought to us, not merely so much bone and sinew, not merely so much money, not merely so much manual skill — they have brought with them deep-inrooted customs and ideas. They are important factors in the political and economic life of the nation. Our destiny is interwoven with theirs; how shall we understand American history, without understanding European history? The story of the peopling of America has not yet been written. We do not understand ourselves.³

Because of this interest in the problem of the peopling of America, much sound writing by Turner's pupils was destined to appear in later years. In the early nineties he had the satisfaction of guiding one of his seminar students along this path. In 1892 she completed a master's thesis on "German Immigration into Wisconsin."⁴

The essay by Turner which is here reprinted, "The Rise and Fall of New France," offers an outline of the main movements in the history of the French element in America. Historically, of course, the French stock was of great importance in the development of North America, though by the close of the nineteenth century its numerical strength inside the bounds of the United States was relatively unimpressive. Noteworthy is the brief observation toward the close of the essay:

It is significant that the French Huguenots won their influence in our history not by acting as a separate people but by assimilating themselves to American life. They found themselves by losing themselves.

Are we not entitled to see in these remarks Turner's guarded

³ *Wisconsin Journal of Education* (Madison), 21: 230-234, 253-256 (October, November, 1891).

⁴ *University of Wisconsin, Catalogue, 1892-93*, p. 151. The author of the thesis was Kate A. Everest.

but sage counsel to those Wisconsin Scandinavians and Germans who had lately risen in opposition against the Bennett Law, preferring to live an exclusive cultural life of their own?

Some reasons there are for believing that Turner blocked out and gave preliminary form to this essay before the close of 1892, but in its present shape the piece could not have been completed much before the spring of 1895. It was early in this year that an attempt was made for the first time by the census authorities to determine the approximate number of persons in this country who were of French-Canadian extraction.⁵

"The Rise and Fall of New France" was published originally in the *Chautauquan* for October and December, 1896. It is here reprinted in the hope of making more widely accessible an interesting piece of writing that is too little known to Turner's followers.⁶

FULMER MOOD

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

[From *The Chautauquan, A Monthly Magazine* (Meadville, Pennsylvania),
24:31-34, 295-300 (October, December, 1896).]

THE RISE AND FALL OF NEW FRANCE

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I

The story that opens with Cartier and closes with Montcalm is one of the most picturesque and dramatic in history. When the Norman and Breton fishing fleets followed Cabot to the Grand Banks, and began traffic with the natives on the shores of St. Lawrence gulf, they found the key to the interior of North America. This deter-

⁵See the report on the French-Canadian element in United States Census, *Population*, 1890, part 1, p. clxxiii-clxxv.

⁶"Notes and Word Studies" supplied for Chautauqua students, probably by the editor, have been omitted in reprinting Turner's article. See the *Chautauquan*, 24:113, 366. Footnotes obviously supplied by Turner himself, however, have been retained. A few typographical errors have been corrected.

mined the destiny of New France. The water systems of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi interlace with each other and form a labyrinth that drew the French fur traders and Jesuit missionaries onward, revealed to them the vastness of this imperial domain, and seduced them into an attempt to seize and hold a continent with hardly more than a handful of men. On the lower St. Lawrence and about the mouth of the Mississippi French settlements grew up, which tended to slip away along the shining river courses into the wilderness. The *voyageurs* seized the strategic points for trade and war—the straits between the lakes and the portages between the rivers; they made friends with the Indians, traded, danced, and married with them, but left no deep or permanent impression on the interior.

French ideals of colonization and social and political organization furnished a sharp contrast to those of the English, who had settled between the Allegheny Mountains and the Atlantic. In the course of the eighteenth century these settlements gradually spread along the coast and contested with the French the fisheries off the St. Lawrence; crossing the mountains to the western waters, they contended for the possession of the fur trade. The colonial systems of France and England became involved in that new hundred years' war which opened with the war between Louis XIV and William of Orange and closed with the defeat of Napoleon. In America the struggle of the colonial powers resulted in the eviction of France from the New World, followed by the independence of the United States.

The catastrophe of the French rule in America was as complete as its development had been extensive and picturesque. By the passage of the Quebec Act England recognized and perpetuated the French element in Canada as a self-conscious people with survivals of French law and ideals. By the acquisition of Louisiana the United States was met with a like problem, which it solved by extending American institutions to the inhabitants and assimilating them. The lesser settlements were soon engulfed in the flood of the pioneers, although the *voyageurs* and French-Indian half-breeds found a place in American exploring expeditions, and as boatmen and packmen for fur companies in the West. In parts of the Great Lake basin the old French life went on until the end of the first third of the present century. In the meantime Louis XIV had driven the Protestant French, the Huguenots, to migrate in considerable numbers to America, and from this

stock came some of the most distinguished political leaders in the United States. More recently many Canadian French have been immigrating, particularly to New England, and abundantly proving the persistence of the French as factors in our national life.

Such, in outline, are the main movements in the history of the French element in America. To the unfolding of the rise and fall of New France Parkman has devoted about a dozen brilliant and fascinating volumes, while Roosevelt has briefly portrayed the aspects of French settlement in the United States at the time when the stalwart frontiersmen seized the lands beyond the Alleghenies. Gayarré has presented the history of the French in Louisiana, and Baird the history of the French Huguenots. Winsor's "Cartier to Frontenac" and "Mississippi Basin" give an excellent view of French exploration; while the fourth and fifth volumes of the "Narrative and Critical History of America," under his editorship, contain an extensive citation of the authorities. The original material for the study of the work of the fur traders and official explorers is chiefly in Margry's great collection of "Mémoires et documents" and the "Jesuit Relations" are becoming accessible to English readers in the reprint and translation now publishing under the editorship of Mr. R. G. Thwaites. Writers of historical fiction, like Gilbert Parker, Conan Doyle, and Mrs. Catherwood, have dealt with the French period in a way to attract as well as to inform the reader.

In so vast a field no more can be attempted in this article than to suggest the principal features of the movement down to the fall of New France, and to touch upon its relations to the main current of French history.

In the lull between the wars of Francis I and Charles V two French corsairs had laid the basis of the claims of France to America. Verrazano had skirted a great extent of its coast and Cartier (1535) had ascended the St. Lawrence to the rapids above Montreal. That France did not continue these explorations and build up permanent settlements in the sixteenth century was largely due to the civil wars that distracted her energies in the period when English seamen like Drake and Gilbert were contesting the monopoly of Spain in the New World and the Dutch were waging their war of liberation. It was in these troubled times that the admiral Coligny made his futile attempt to plant Huguenot settlements at Port Royal in South Carolina and on the St. John's River. The butchery of the last colony

by Menendez, the Spaniard, in 1565 ended this attempt at Protestant colonization under French authority. The Huguenot wars were closed by the conversion of Henry of Navarre to the Catholic faith, and France found itself united under this energetic monarch and ready for colonial enterprises at the very time when the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, by the English seamen opened the ocean to the colonizing fleets of England, Holland, and France. The result appears in the planting of Jamestown, New Amsterdam, and Quebec.

Champlain's services, beginning in 1603 and ending with his death on Christmas day, 1635, mark the first period of successful French settlement. He acted in the service of monopolists of the fur trade, but was himself the life of the colony. Among the fruits of his labors were the foundation of Quebec at the bold headland which commands the lower St. Lawrence, and Montreal where the Lachine rapids interrupt navigation, a strategic point for war and trade by its relations to the Ottawa and Lake Champlain. The latter lake he explored and named at about the same time that Hudson, in the service of the Dutch, was ascending the river that bears his name. By setting the French in opposition to the Iroquois, who dominated the region of New York, Champlain paved the way for a long and bitter struggle. The water system of the Hudson, the Mohawk, and Lake Champlain taps the system of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and thus opens a route to the interior. Natural hostility would seem to have been decreed between the peoples who held these rival waterways; and so, in fact, we find that the Hurons were the deadly foes of the Iroquois, though of the same stock, and that the Dutch and their successors, the English, grappled with the French, as afterward English and Americans struggled over these avenues to the North and West.

Another important event in the period of Champlain's activity was the advent of the Jesuit priests. Champlain's first missionaries were the gray-robed Recollects, but in 1625 the black robes sent their pioneers, headed by Lallemant and Brébeuf. The history of the Jesuits is checkered and world-wide, but one of its noblest chapters deals with the heroic devotion of its missionaries in the woods of America. They were appalled at no perils, they shrank from no toils. Men educated in the learning of their time traversed the gloomy forest, and set up the cross on the farthest shores of the Great Lakes. They lived in the smoky huts and dined on the disgusting food of the sav-

ages; torture and burning only called out renewed devotion. Their records of the mission have given us a large part of our knowledge of the early history of New France, and the black-robed priest threading the forest paths has become to many the picture of French exploration. Nevertheless it was not by the Jesuit that the exploration of the Northwest was effected. The fur trader, the wild, daring wood ranger, or *coureur de bois*, was the pioneer of New France; in his footsteps followed the priest, and the trading post and the mission house, lonely in the interminable forest, are the twin types of French occupation of the West.

On taking up the administration of France Cardinal Richelieu organized the company of the Hundred Associates to colonize and monopolize the fur trade of New France. At the same time England attempted to relieve the besieged Huguenots of La Rochelle, and a fleet was sent to seize Quebec, for the advantage of the English claim to Nova Scotia. In 1629 Quebec capitulated, only to be restored three years later.

The close of the career of Champlain was marked, also, by the visit of his agent Nicolet to the Sault Ste. Marie and to the Winnebagoes about Green Bay, on Lake Michigan, in the interest of the inter-tribal trade, and in the hope of finding the passage to the Pacific. On his return he reported that if he had proceeded three days farther he would have reached the great waters. What he would have reached is the Wisconsin, a tributary of the Mississippi, but the elusive phantom of a water route to Asia continued to influence French explorers.

By the close of Champlain's activity, therefore, the forces at work in New France might all be seen in embryo: the fur trade was attracting men into the forest, and was made a monopoly; the search for the route to Asia was another impulse to exploration, while the Jesuits had engaged in their heroic, if ineffective, efforts to Christianize the savages, and the hostility of the Iroquois and the struggle with the English had been begun.

In 1641 the Jesuits Raymbault and Jogues, hoping to reach China, followed the path of Nicolet to the Sault Ste. Marie, where Raymbault died—"God diverted his path to heaven," reported the superior. Jogues, vainly endeavoring to placate the Iroquois, was brained with a hatchet. That fierce people, having procured firearms

from the Dutch, swept the Hurons from their homes in 1649. Part of the fugitives from the wrath of the Iroquois reached the upper lakes and the Mississippi. Their flight may have induced the voyages of the unlicensed adventurers Radisson and Groseilliers, who, in pursuit of the fur trade, followed the southern shore of Lake Superior to its head in Minnesota, penetrated to Hudson Bay, and returned in 1660. Radisson claims in a previous voyage to have followed the route of the Hurons and to have entered the Mississippi. Their goods being confiscated by the French, the two traders turned to England, where they induced the formation of the Hudson Bay Company.

The career of these men forms a neglected chapter in the history of New France. Aside from their explorations their voyages are important, as leading the way for the missions of Menard, Marquette, and Allouez along Lake Superior, and as being representative of the large class of *coureurs de bois* who now began to flee from the restraints of civilization to the wilds of the Northwest. Mackinaw was their rendezvous, and they took their furs to Albany or to Montreal as their wishes led them, regardless of the authorities. From all sides, from Indian, trader, and missionary, came rumors of the "great waters" of the interior. The time was ripe for a more systematic organization of the advance of New France, and at this time a number of great men enter the history of New France.

Louis XIV, having taken personal control of his government, appointed the able and energetic Colbert as his minister. The organization of the colonial commerce of France under the Company of the West was the work of this famous mercantilist. In this period, moreover, two great administrators appear in New France, Talon, the far-reaching intendant, and Frontenac, the masterful governor. The daring and indefatigable La Salle, with his vast designs of trade and exploration, is a third heroic figure in this new era. In 1671, at Sault Ste. Marie, St. Luson took possession of the West in the name of Louis XIV. La Salle probably explored the Ohio in 1670. Three years later the trader Joliet and Marquette the missionary entered the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin and descended it to the mouth of the Arkansas. Rightly concluding that the river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and that the hope of finding in it a route to the Pacific was not warranted, they returned with their re-

port. With the favor of the governor La Salle established Fort Frontenac on the northeastern shore of Lake Ontario, thus intercepting the fur trade on its way to Montreal, a policy which had before been left to the illegal traders, the *coueurs de bois*. Jesuits and merchants complained as the center of trade receded into the interior. To the former it meant corruption of their converts; to the latter it meant a loss of profit.

It was not long before La Salle conceived the bold design of pushing the depot of trade into the heart of the wilderness. He proposed to gather the Indians into a great colony in the Illinois country, where the furs of the Northwest should be collected and shipped down the Mississippi to a post at its mouth. Thus the two portals to the interior—the Gulf of Mexico and the St. Lawrence gulf—would both be in French possession, with the interior as its trading territory, and the English behind the mountains would be cut off from the West. Meeting appalling misfortunes with superb courage and indefatigable endeavor, La Salle in 1682 succeeded in descending the river to its mouth. But in 1687 he was assassinated by his followers, after having failed to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. La Salle's extensive plans had failed, but the idea of holding the great valley did not die out.

A new era of this colonial history was reached when the English revolution of 1688 brought to the throne the antagonist of Louis XIV, William of Orange, for the English monarchy now ceases to be a paid dependent of France, and engages in the century of conflict for the colonial empire of the world. We shall soon consider the steps of this great struggle in New France; but first let us complete our survey of the spread of French exploration and settlement.

Fearful of the entrance of the English traders, who now began to turn their attention to the Great Lakes and the Mississippi as well as to Hudson Bay, the French began to establish stockaded trading posts at the key points of the interior. Thus while Livingston of New York was urging the governor of that colony to fortify Detroit, in order to secure the trade of the Great Lakes, Cadillac in 1701 erected a French post there. In 1699 D'Iberville founded Biloxi to control the mouth of the Mississippi, and by this expedition he barely anticipated the occupation by the English, whom he turned back as they were about to plant a colony. Kaskaskia and Cahokia (1700) were

planted on the banks of the Mississippi between the Kaskaskia and Illinois Rivers; at Green Bay was a post controlling the Fox-Wisconsin route; Mackinaw was occupied to guard the passage between lakes Huron and Michigan; and before long the route by way of the Maumee and the Wabash was secured by Fort Vincennes and a fort at the portage, while the St. Joseph was held by another post. Crown Point (1731) guarded Lake Champlain. Lesser posts were scattered throughout the lines of connection between the great Lakes and the Mississippi. Like most of the other forts, these were palisaded trading posts, where the commandant supported himself and his little garrison by the profits of the fur trade. They were not so much for the protection of French soil as for the management and protection of the Indian trade.

II

While they occupied the trade centers of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, the French pushed on into the far West. Two motives guided this advance: the hope of opening trade connections with Mexico, and the search for the Sea of the West. When New Orleans was founded, in 1717, and Law's Mississippi Company was formed to support French credit on the basis of the mines, the pearls, and the buffalo wool of Louisiana, the desire of opening trade with the Spanish colony was not forgotten. Expeditions to this end were sent up the Red River, the Kansas, the Platte, and the Arkansas. In 1739 the Mallet brothers reached and traded with Santa Fé. In the meantime the Missouri had been ascended to the vicinity of Bismarck, in the hope that its course would be found to turn toward New Mexico.

In the Northwest another series of expeditions, conducted by Vérendrye and his sons, had led to the erection of posts at Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Winnipeg, and Lake Manitoba, all stages of an advance in search of the Pacific. At last, in 1743, French exploration reached the mountain barrier, when the Vérendrye brothers saw the Big Horn range.

Thus New France had spread throughout the Mississippi basin; but while this expansion had been going on the valley of the Ohio was left unguarded, and at its sources the frontiersmen were gathering, stalwart foes of the wilderness and the Indian, ready to strike this attenuated line of trading posts in its center and cut New France

apart. Let us turn to note the stages in the contests between the French and the English colonies.

Two primary elements of opposition are revealed in these wars, determining the form of the struggle and the points of attack: the rivalry over the fur trade on the part of the colonies that adjoined the interior water system of New France, and the contest for the control of the fisheries on the part of New England. Neither of these interests could call out the combined effort of the disunited English colonies, while they constituted the very life of New France.

It would be a mistake to look upon these wars as conscious efforts on the part of either the French or the English government to secure territory for agricultural occupation. On the part of the authorities the struggle was predominantly a contest for trade. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, who had led a noteworthy expedition across the Blue Ridge in 1716, put the English view of the situation, four years later, when he wrote:

The danger which threatens these, His Majesty's plantations, from this new settlement is also very considerable, for by the convenience of the lakes they do in a manner surround all the British plantations. They have it in their power by these lakes and the many rivers running into them and into the Mississippi to engross all the trade of the Indian nations which are now supplied from hence.

While there were permanent local reasons for collision between the French and English colonies, the wars which broke out were accompaniments of the European wars between the two rivals. When William of Orange and Louis XIV engaged in the War of the Palatinate (1689-97) King William's War broke out in America. The aged Frontenac was recalled from his seven years' retirement and was given instructions to expel the English from Hudson Bay and to capture New York, thus cutting off the English line of trade that tapped the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. Neither of these measures was successful; the Iroquois proved an effective barrier between the French and the English, they formed connections with the Fox Indians in Wisconsin and thus interrupted the Fox and Wisconsin route to the Mississippi, and they cut off the northwestern tribes from the goods of the French. "They have powder and iron," complained an Ottawa deputy; "how can we sustain ourselves? Have compassion on us, and consider that it is no easy matter to kill men with clubs." New England sent a fleet under Phips and struck

a blow for her fisheries by reducing Acadia, but failed to capture Quebec. Frontenac's successes consisted in such massacres as those at Schenectady and Salmon Falls, but above all in the campaigns that broke the power of the Iroquois.

The peace of Ryswick (1697) restored the conquests of both parties. But it was no more than a truce, for the War of the Spanish Succession was reflected in America by Queen Anne's War (1702-13). During the longer portion of this war peace existed between Canada and New York, because the French traders did not desire to arouse the Iroquois and interrupt the supply of English goods, carried by neutral Indians acting as middlemen. The stress of the war fell on the frontiers of New England, as at Wells, Casco, Deerfield, and Haverhill — attacks conducted with the purpose of attaching New England Indians to the French. In 1710 the English took the stronghold of Acadia (Port Royal) and the peace of Utrecht recognized England's possession of Hudson Bay, Acadia (Nova Scotia), and Newfoundland.

To preserve a hold on the fisheries France fortified Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, and denied the limits claimed for Nova Scotia by the English. In the interior the years following the peace of Utrecht were occupied, as we have seen, by increasing the control over the strategic points for the fur trade and in expanding into the vast wilderness. When the War of the Austrian Succession came America was soon swept into it, under the name of King George's War (1744-48). Under the lead of New England Louisburg was taken and Canada threatened, but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle provided for the restoration of this defense of the fisheries to the French.

By this time the English traders had taken possession of the Ohio valley, and behind them was the comparatively compact and extensive population of the thirteen colonies. The frontiersmen were looking for land rather than for Indian trade, and the final struggle was at hand. What were the colonial traits of the two peoples that now fronted each other in this contest for the continent?

The English farmers and seamen stood for the ideals of political freedom and local self-government. They were implacable foes to the Indian and to the wilderness — a solid, substantial people, hewing out homes for their race. They lacked in picturesque elements, but what they took they held and reduced for the purposes of civilization.

Acquiring industrial power and discipline in their narrow country between the Allegheny Mountains and the Atlantic, they now numbered something more than a million; their expansion was to be irresistible.

The French habitants and fur traders were about 80,000, scattered through a continent and organized in the two provinces Canada and Louisiana.

The political life of New France was a modification of the France of the old *régime*. A centralized autocracy converging in the king was the form of their government. "Let every one speak for himself and no one for all," had commanded Colbert, when he forbade legislative organization for the colony. Local self-government did not exist; the seignior on his estate and the village priest and commandant looked after local concerns, subject to minute orders from the governor or the king's ministers. The latter officials did not hesitate to pass upon such petty details as the number of pickets to be placed in a stockade at Sault Ste. Marie, or to require the commandant to refrain from raising wheat, which the wise minister declared unfitted for that region! As in the Old World, French local government was directed by the authorities most remote from the locality.

By making the fur trade a monopoly the government hampered and harmed the vital industry of the colony, while the habitant was hedged in by irksome dues to the seignior, or lord of the estate, and the noblesse and the habitant were divided by sharp social lines. With the great authority and vigor of the clergy adding to these restraints it is not surprising that the free life of the forest fur trade increased the numbers of the *coureurs de bois* and the *voyageurs*, whose birch canoes skirted the clear waters of the Great Lakes or floated to the tune of the gay boating songs down the rivers of the West. Boon companions of the Indians, they ate and drank and sang and fought side by side with their savage brothers, married with them and took up their life. The gay, adaptable Frenchman was no wilderness conqueror. Said Duquesne to the Indians in 1754:

Are you ignorant of the difference between the king of England and the king of France? Go see the forts that our king has established, and you will see that you can still hunt under their very walls. They have been placed for your advantage in places which you frequent. The English, on the contrary, are no sooner in possession of a place than the game is driven away. The forest falls before them as they advance, and the

soil is laid bare, so that you can scarce find the wherewithal to erect a shelter for the night.

When George Washington came through the snows of December, 1753, to the trader-commandant at Fort Leboeuf, at the portage between the sources of the Ohio River and a tributary of Lake Erie, and in the name of the governor of Virginia demanded that the French withdraw from the valley of the Ohio, he was the herald of English civilization proclaiming war against the French ideals. He was the prophet of a new era for the West.

In the war that followed, the traders struggled to defend their trade. From the remote parts of the Northwest they led their Indians to the battles for the retention of the strategic trading points that they had seized. The campaigns centered about these key-points of the Indian trade. But at last on the Heights of Abraham the final act came in this great drama, and the keeping of the prairies and the plains, the mountains and the valleys of the continent passed forever from the French to the people of the English tongue.

When at the close of the Seven Years' War France yielded her territory on the North American continent to England and Spain, she left but faint evidences of her former possession. Of the French population of eighty thousand souls which had spread over the vast area less than fifteen thousand dwelt in the present territory of the United States. In the vicinity of Detroit were perhaps two thousand; Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and the outlying villages in the Illinois country included about as many more; while in Vincennes and the lesser posts of Indiana were nearly the same number. Soon after the war a considerable number of French settlers crossed the Mississippi into the province of Louisiana, then transferred by France to Spain, and thus insured the growth of the fur-trading village of St. Louis. The French whites at New Orleans and along the lower Mississippi may be reckoned at about seven thousand. This included some six or seven hundred Acadians, who after their banishment by the English had found refuge along the bayous and on the prairies of the Attakapas and Opelousas regions of Louisiana. Scattered through the northwestern woods were wandering French traders, who for the most part could claim a residence either in Canada or the villages already mentioned. Among the Indians there was growing up a considerable half-breed population, the offspring of the ubiquitous *voyageurs* and their Indian mates.

This was not a very substantial showing after a century of occupation. For all the daring, distant explorations of the gentry, for all the devoted wanderings of the missionaries, for all the forest traffic of the gay *voyageurs* along the western streams, there could be shown only a few lonely and deserted posts and little villages. Perhaps the most enduring evidence of the French dominion in the United States is found in the names upon the map.

At the time of its cession to Spain, in 1762, New Orleans contained about two thousand French settlers, and from its position and the character of its population it had precedence among these settlements. Already it had become the depot of trade for the Mississippi Valley with France and the West Indies, exporting indigo, deerskins, lumber, and naval stores. The villages of the interior were much alike. Agriculture struggled with the Indian trade for ascendancy. Along the village river front were the log houses, with their orchards and outlying buildings, while the farms ran back side by side from the river, in ribbon-like strips about two hundred feet wide and from two to six miles long.* In some villages the rules regarding the management of these farms, the regulations for plowing, planting, and harvesting, were made and administered by a village council; but the local commandants had the civil authority, while the priests served as mediators in disputes. Besides these fields there was the village commons, the collective property of the settlers, for wood and pasturage.

The men were picturesquely clothed in *capotes* and moccasins, with earrings and black queues. They drove their two-wheeled pony carts, plowed their fields with clumsy wooden-wheeled plows, fastened by rawhide harnesses to the oxen's horns, and lived a simple, careless life in their prairie homes. There were some rich men among them, such as the Kaskaskia farmer who owned eighty slaves.

But the fur trade constituted the most typical industry of the Frenchmen of the interior. Picturesque in gaudy turbans or betin-seled hats, they manned the birch trading canoes in crews of eight, shipped their load of axes, guns, and powder, kegs of brandy, coarse cloths, and blankets, trinkets, and provisions, and started from the depots of trade to greet the Indians as they left for the hunting grounds in the fall. The paddles beat time to rollicking songs; every

* See American State Papers, "Public Lands," Vol. II., p. 166 (edition of 1834), for map of Cahokia. The farms vary in different villages.

two miles they stopped for a three-minutes' smoke or "pipe." Carrying the canoe across the portages, and running the rapids, reckless of their soakings, they reached the lesser villages and divided the cargo into smaller craft to visit the numerous trading posts at the Indian villages or hunting grounds. It was a wild, free life, and the forest trade left its impression on Indian industrial life, as well as produced a trained body of boatmen, packmen, and guides for the later British and American traders and explorers in the far West. Many a town in the interior dates its annals from the advent of these Indian traders, whose posts became the nuclei of settlements.

The part played by France in American history in the years that followed the downfall of her colony was an important one. The American Revolution gave to her statesmen an opportunity for revenge upon England which they were not slow to embrace. But the treaty of alliance made with us in 1778 was designed to humble Great Britain and create a weak and dependent ally of France rather than to erect a powerful democracy. The government of the old *régime* had no republican illusions, as Vergennes showed in the negotiations over the treaty of peace, when he aimed to restrict our boundaries to the Alleghenies and desired to deprive us of the navigation of the Mississippi and of the fisheries. But with the people of France it was different, and the army officers imbibed revolutionary enthusiasm in their service here, and in their travels after the war, that had important influence in shaping the course of the French Revolution.

Lafayette's part in that struggle is well known. The Lameth brothers who served in Rochambeau's army also won distinction in the French Revolution. Charles sat in the States-General, was instrumental in the arrest of the king, and served as president of the Assembly; Alexander was also an eloquent member of the States-General. Brissot de Warville, whose American travels are well known, became the advocate of French war against Europe and drafted the declaration against England; and Volney, another sojourner here, was a member of Napoleon's senate.

It was natural, therefore, that the more democratic elements in America sympathized with the French in their European struggle that ensued. American politics were profoundly affected by this Old World duel. For nearly a quarter of a century the antagonisms of the friends of France and the friends of England were among the

most important issues that shaped and kept in conflict the Democratic-Republican and Federalist parties.

In these formative years of our nation a portion of the French element in the United States played an important part. French Huguenots, whom Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes had driven out, had scattered themselves among the colonies and now produced notable public men.

Among the leaders of Protestant French descent, in this era, were three presidents of the old Congress, Laurens, Boudinot, and Jay, the last named being also one of our ablest diplomats and first chief justice of the federal Supreme Court; Manigault, who loaned his great fortune to the revolutionary cause in South Carolina; Marion, "the Swamp Fox"; Paul Revere, the "midnight messenger"; Sevier, the dashing Indian fighter, hero of King's Mountain, and governor of the state of Franklin; Faneuil, giver of the "cradle of liberty" to Boston; Freneau, the poet. Statesmen like Bayard, Bowdoin, and Gouverneur Morris (who gave the literary form to the Constitution of the United States) were of Huguenot descent. Perhaps the French blood in our diplomats, Jay, Bayard, and Olney, aided them to cope with European ambassadors. It is not without significance that in the veins of two of our greatest financiers and administrators, Hamilton and Gallatin, flowed French blood. The same French element was inherited by Longfellow and Whittier, Maury, of the signal service, Agassiz, the scientist, Presidents Tyler and Garfield, Chauncy M. Depew, Legare, Bishop Vincent, Gallaudet, and many others of note.

It is significant that the French Huguenots won their influence in our history not by acting as a separate people but by assimilating themselves to American life. They found themselves by losing themselves.

The French element in the United States at the present time embraces various groups. The French of Louisiana include the dwellers in and around the picturesque old capital of New Orleans—exotic among American cities with its French survivals, its dream of past commercial dominion, and its vision of future power; and the simple and ignorant Acadian farmers, continuing the primitive customs of the basin of Grand Pré, along the tranquil waters of the Têsche, remote from the corroding touch of busy modern life. The *métis*, or half-breeds, also survivals of the old French days, are scattered in

considerable numbers through the Northwest, as packmen, boatmen, and lumbermen.

But the most noteworthy French element in the United States at the present time consists in the French Canadians who began about twenty years ago to cross the border into this country. This movement was due in part to the expansive power of this fecund people and in part to the effort of New England mill-owners to bring them as operatives. The result has been to introduce a new strain of French influence into this country. The United States census of 1890 reports 537,000 white persons having either one or both parents born in Canada and Newfoundland of French extraction. Leading French Canadians deny the correctness of this report, and, on the basis of church records, hold that it should be more than doubled.

The French Canadians are found in greatest numbers in the North Atlantic States and the North Central States. As a rule they are grouped in settlements of their own, aiming to preserve their race, language, customs, and religion.

So pronounced has been this tendency to resist assimilation, so rapid the growth of the French families, that some writers have expressed a fanciful apprehension lest these parochial French communities should connect with the Canadian network of French parishes and form a revived New France on the ruins of Anglo-Saxon New England. Recent studies of the increase of the French Canadians, however, seem to show that the check to population produced by heavy infant mortality overcomes their remarkable birth rate,* and that the tendency to naturalization is increasing. Nor does there seem any evidence that the French leaders desire to do more than to retain their race autonomy in the midst of the American peoples and under American government.

The last United States census also shows here a total population of French having one or both parents born in France amounting to 255,000. If we accept the census report, therefore, the combined French Canadian and French element proper in the United States is nearly 769,000, while Germany, that never had a colony in our territory, shows on the same basis a German element in America of over 6,800,000.

* Families of twenty children are not considered remarkable among the Canadian French. One of the recent prime ministers of Quebec was the twenty-fourth child of the family.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED DIARY OF COLONEL JOSIAH SNELLING¹

The aura of romance and adventure is not confined to human personalities alone. Such an aura envelopes a leather-bound book which contains the diary of Colonel Josiah Snelling, who was stationed at the fort that bears his name from 1820 to 1827. More than a hundred years ago this small volume, like a wandering Aeneas, probably traveled the long and arduous journey from Detroit, Michigan, across Lake Michigan to Fort Howard on Green Bay, over the well-known canoe route up the Fox River, over a portage, and down the Wisconsin to its junction with the Mississippi, then up that stream by keelboat to the mouth of the Minnesota. By such crude methods of transportation the book doubtless reached Fort Snelling.

The diary is a treasured possession of Mrs. William Ritchie of Omaha, Nebraska, daughter of the Reverend L. A. Arthur of Minneapolis. Mrs. Ritchie's grandmother was a niece of Colonel Snelling's wife. A few months ago, a streamlined, air-conditioned train, equipped with radio and every other luxury, brought this much-traveled little volume back to rest for a few days in the shadow of the old fort whose early history it records. The entries are scanty and are written on leaves still crisp and unyellowed by age, with small spaces faintly lined to accommodate the fine penmanship of the time. In spite of a lack of continuity of both time and material, the diary tells a revealing story, not only of the period but of the man who wrote it.

The first entry reads: "John Tully, aged about ten years, died at Fort Snelling & was buried on the 27th day of April,

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society on October 18, 1937, in the Historical Building, St. Paul. *Ed.*

1827." John had become a member of Colonel Snelling's family in 1823, after he was rescued by soldiers from a band of Sioux Indians encamped at St. Peter's. His father, mother, and infant brother had been killed by the Sioux and John himself had been scalped. The Snelling family had nursed him back to health, only to have him die some years later of an infected foot. The next entry is that of April 28, 1827: "In the evening the remains of my daughter, Elizabeth, and Col. Leavenworth's infant were removed from the old burying ground to the new one on the ridge." Elizabeth was thirteen months old when she died. Her grave is still to be seen in the Fort Snelling cemetery. When the new Fort Snelling Chapel was built a few years ago, the fort Sunday school gave a baptismal font in memory of this little child of the long ago.

In the entries that follow there is recorded a strange mixture of fort activities and financial affairs, both personal and military. There are long lists of personal properties in which horses, cows, calves, harnesses, wagons, iron pots, and candlesticks are cheek by jowl with coral earrings, gold watches, French china, and silver spoons. Auctions of the effects of deceased soldiers are faithfully recorded with the sums received for each article and the names of buyers. The effects of Lieutenant Andrews, deceased, included one old trunk, a uniform coat and wings, sword and belt, one old pistol, three vests, two cotton shirts, one brass candlestick, two iron candlesticks, a tin kettle, three tin pans, two beaver skins, and a small bundle of trinkets. All were sold for \$26.79 $\frac{3}{4}$.

The estate of Dr. Edward Purcell, an army surgeon who served at the fort from 1819 to his death in 1825, was put up at auction and on January 9, 1827, the auctioneer's fees of \$12.98 were entered by Colonel Snelling. The part of the estate administered by the colonel was pitifully small. On January 5, 1827, the amount brought forward in the diary from some other record was \$259.68 $\frac{3}{4}$. On Octo-

ber 2 of the same year, the doctor's watch was sold to B. Ward for \$35.00, making a total credit of \$294.68 $\frac{3}{4}$. Subtracting the auctioneer's fees and \$9.00 for "washer-woman's bill during his last sickness," the balance due the estate is placed at \$272.70 $\frac{3}{4}$. The only other mention of Dr. Purcell's name in the diary is in a list of the colonel's possessions, which includes the item: "Sleigh Dr Purcell to Mary \$10."

Immediately following his first two entries Colonel Snelling records on May 3, 1827: "Reenlisted Wm. Brewster of Comp. D. and paid him six dollars." Next there is a regimental order from Fort Crawford, on the site of the present city of Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, dated July 12:

The acting Asst. Com[missary] Lt. Jameson will cause to be baked six thousand rations of hard bread by four o'clock P. M. tomorrow.

By order of Col. Josiah Snelling.

M. G. MERRIL, Act. Adjt.

A copy of a letter sent to an irresponsible officer is dated from Fort Crawford on July 13, 1827:

SIR: I have thought proper to place Company B under the command of Lt. Denny. You will remain behind, considering yourself on furlough until we return. I will explain my reasons for this measure when time and opportunity offer.

Yr. obt. st.,

J. SNELLING, Col.

TO MAJ. T. HAMILTON.

The sequel to this order is found in a letter written by Colonel Snelling to the major from a keelboat on August 10, 1827:

MAJOR: Seven years ago you were transferred by mutual consent with Major Larrabee to this Corps. I was advised at the time by Gen'l Atkinson that it was his last hope of reforming your habits. How far you have met his expectations, is best known to yourself.

I have connived at your derelictions from duty too long. On an important expedition you have allowed the command of your Company to be taken from you, when danger & honor should have been courted, & given to your 2nd Lt. without even asking the reason why.

Always satisfied if you had free access to the whisky bottle. In truth and candour you are no longer fit for the station you hold, & I am obliged to offer you this alternative. Resign with a year's furlough, *or*, stand a trial.

With gt. respect, Yrs.

J. SNELLING.

Instead of progressing in time, the diary often moves back to records of transactions made in earlier years. Under date of August 13, 1825, the colonel records the purchase of the Brooks farm near Detroit for \$2,000. In the same entry are included items for repairs and extensions. Recording the deed cost \$1.00. Whitewashing a chimney and laying hearths, "same for kitchen and pot hooks," came to \$56.40. Lumber, carpenter work, nails, screws, door bolts, door handle, paying a certain Martin for relinquishing a lease, and a bushel of clover seed made a total of \$359.52. After Colonel Snelling's death, his wife sold this farm for \$9,000. The purchase of lands seemed to be Snelling's favorite form of investment. On July 1, 1823, he bought Predeville farm near St. Louis for \$2,000, and paid \$10.89 in taxes for 1823-24. On May 29, 1825, he "Purchased a Qr Section of land in Illinois of Lt. Green for \$20.00." There is also a record of what the colonel calls his "Snelling Farm," which, with improvements, cost him \$4,589. This was evidently near the fort, and among the improvements listed was "Work on a turnpike, \$640.00." In investing in land, Snelling was following the trend of his times. From Washington's day through the early years of the nineteenth century, men had the same passion for acquiring land as did the forty-niners for acquiring gold, or the twenty-niners for acquiring stocks.

In anticipation of his transfer to Jefferson Barracks, Snelling made an "inventory of Property left at St. Peters with Lt. William E. Cruger." In this list appear the names of three of his horses, "Bonnaparte," "Nez-Blanc," and "Cottonwood," each valued at fifty dollars. In one place the inventory goes back of horse and buggy days to list a

"Tillbury bt. of Taliaferro, \$160." This included harness, cushions, and lamp. Five sledges or sleighs are entered under their French name, "traineaux." Two cowbells and two "sithes" jostle with more aesthetic articles, such as a mantelpiece clock, a spyglass, and four chairs. On one occasion, after the single word "Property," Snelling jotted down the sum of \$6,652.

One of Colonel Snelling's biographers says that he was "the perfect type of the rough and convivial old Colonel of fiction, improvident in his habits and usually in debt, considerate and intelligent when not under the influence of drink." Judging from his financial transactions, it would seem that the word "improvident" would hardly apply to him. If Colonel Snelling was a hard drinker, the diary does not disclose it. There are only two items among all the entries which record the purchase of whisky, in both cases in two-gallon lots. His debts, when culled from all the entries in the diary, total only a few hundred dollars.

One can judge as he runs through the pages of the diary that the fort commander was indeed a considerate man. Witness the softening effect to that stern letter of dismissal of Major Hamilton from the service, when the colonel signed himself "With gt. respect, Yrs." This same quality is shown in a regimental order sent from the "Kiel Boat Rock Islander" on August 6, 1827. After giving precise orders for the disposal of troops when their boats landed "at the Prairie on which Wabasha's village is situated," Colonel Snelling continues: "They will not attempt concealment, but go directly to the village by the common path, and inform Wabasha or any of his chiefs who may be present, that although we approach in force, we have no hostile intentions. Our only object is to return to St. Peters unmolested." If the Indians should prove hostile the colonel ordered that "no quarter" should be given "but to women and children whose persons should always be sacred in the eyes of an American soldier."

Dr. William W. Folwell, in his *History of Minnesota*, throws light on a speech which Colonel Snelling records and which he prefaces by this note: "Literal as translated. L. Taliaferro Agt. of a speech delivered by Strong Earth a chief of the Sandy Lake Indians of the Chippewa nation to Col. J. Snelling on the 30th of May 1827." Dr. Folwell relates that in 1825 a peace had been concluded between the Chippewa and the Sioux. But it seems that the Sioux held their treaties in no more respect than do the civilized nations of today. Dr. Folwell states that twenty-four Chippewa who had come to confer with Taliaferro, the Indian agent, were given permission to camp under the cover and protection of the fort. In a few days there appeared a band of nine Sioux, who were hospitably received by the Chippewa, ate of their food, and smoked the pipe of peace. On leaving about nine in the evening, the traitorous guests turned their guns on their hosts, killing two and wounding seven. In tragic protest of this betrayal, Strong Earth, the Chippewa chief, appealed to the fort commander, who later wrote out the translation. It says:

FATHER: You know that two summers ago, we attended a Great Council at Prairie du Chien, where by the advice of our white friends, we made a peace with the Sioux. We were then told that the Americans would guarantee our safety under your flag. We came here under that assurance. But, father, look at your floor. It is stained with the blood of my people, shed under your walls. I look up and see your flag over us. If you are a great and powerful people, why do you not protect us? If not, of what use are all of these soldiers?

An interesting military order is dated from Fort Crawford, July 21, 1827. It reads:

The present state of affairs renders it necessary that decisive steps should be taken with the vagrant Indians who infest this neighborhood. Half breeds not claiming citizenship, & Indian women of any grade or colour not having husbands, will depart in 24 hours on pain of military evacuation. The commanding officer is fully aware of the responsibility he incurs, and will always be ready to answer for it before a competent tribunal; but he will not suffer spies to be smuggled

into his camp under the petticoats of a strumpet. . . . Certificates of marriage will be required of those females who are permitted to remain.

That affairs of honor were still settled by blood in 1827 is shown by the following letter:

SIR: I have contrary to my duty and my principles and to gratify the bad passions of a bad man, consented to waive my rank to Lt. Baxby and expect to receive a message from him today. As you have agreed to appear on the field as my friend, I think proper to dictate to you the following terms of combat, from which I will not depart. The duel shall be fought at four paces with pistols and the firing shall continue until one of the parties is killed or disabled. I do not go out for a show and I will have no spectators or surgeon. I will consent to no reconciliation or shaking of hands. When I think a man a rascal I never take his hand.

J. SNELLING

To Lt. G. Low

This duel is not mentioned by Snelling's biographers. As the letter was sent in September and as Colonel Snelling was transferred to Jefferson Barracks near St. Louis in October, it is possible that the duel never was fought.

An interesting record dated October 20, 1826, tells of paying \$5.00 to "James White as Pilot of a boat over the rapids." J. B. Luger was given \$50.00 for "carrying mail." The colonel's postage bill for what he styles "public letters" was \$165.25. Before leaving Fort Snelling for his new appointment at Jefferson Barracks, the commandant cleared up some last items of business. On September 9, 1827, there is this entry: "Lt. Green left Ft. Snelling in a bark canoe. Sent by him to Tyler Warren \$7.29 for my last postage account."

The following entries trace Snelling's movements from the time of his removal from Minnesota:

Oct. 2nd, 1827. Left St. Peters in the Steamboat Josephine, Capt. Clark. Passengers, Mrs. Snelling, three children, female servant Olympia, and myself. Majr. Gen'l Gaines, Lts. Hunter, Green, Clark, & Capt. Clark.

Oct. 4th, 1827. Arrived at Prairie du Chien and sailed the same day for St. Louis.

Oct. 5. Stopped nearly all day at Galena, Called Fever river lead mines.

Oct. 9th. Arrived at St. Louis early in the morning.

Oct. 10th. Took lodging at Mrs. McNous for Mrs. S. \$4 per week. James \$2, Marion \$2. Mary (slave) \$2. Total \$10. Wood and candles to be furnished by me.

In an entry of May 14, 1827, Snelling notes: "Negro woman (Mary) and the child Louisa bt. of Mr. Bostwick of St. Louis for \$400."

In May, 1828, Colonel Snelling asked leave to go to Washington to bring home his daughter, Mary, who had been living with her uncle, Captain Thomas Hunt, while attending school. The diary evidently took the long journey with its owner. There are just two Washington items recorded in its pages. The first, dated June 1, 1828, reads: "Commenced shaving by the month with Mr. Sheppard, Pennsylvania Ave." The second item is a brief indication of the tragedy which came to Colonel Snelling between June 1 and 10. The sudden death of his beautiful daughter after attending a party is recorded in this last entry: "Books packed in a small trunk at Washington June 10th, 1828. Principally Mary's." A list of volumes follows.

Colonel Snelling died in Washington in the following August. As he was born in Boston in 1782, he was forty-six years old at the time of his death. According to one historian, Snelling's summary of his own career was:

I have passed through every grade to the command of a regiment. I owe nothing to executive patronage, for I have neither friend or relative connected with the government. I have obtained my rank in the ordinary course of promotion and have retained it by doing my duty.

HELEN DUNLAP DICK

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

SOME SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

AGRICULTURAL PERIODICALS

Agricultural periodicals contain a vast treasure trove of data which historians have failed to exploit to full advantage. Considering the fact that the United States has been primarily a nation of farmers until recently and that each of its sections and states has passed through—or is still in—a predominantly agricultural stage of development, it would seem logical for historians to give more attention to the contents of this group of periodicals which were consciously designed to serve as the main clearinghouse of information pertaining to agriculture and its related interests. Furthermore, the number of agricultural journals published in the United States since the inauguration of the *Agricultural Museum* at Georgetown, D. C., on July 4, 1810, is legion, and a list of those issued in Minnesota alone runs to well over a hundred titles.¹

An idea of the variety of subjects covered in agricultural periodicals may be obtained by noting those in the first volume of the *Minnesota Farmer and Gardener*. This farm journal, the pioneer in Minnesota, was edited and published as a monthly by L. M. Ford at St. Paul from November,

¹ Although John Stuart Skinner's *American Farmer*, first issued at Baltimore on April 2, 1819, is commonly referred to as the pioneer agricultural periodical of the United States, it is clear that the *Agricultural Museum* is "entitled to the distinction of being the first agricultural journal published in this country." See Claribel R. Barnett, "The Agricultural Museum; An Early American Agricultural Periodical," in *Agricultural History*, 2: 99-102 (April, 1928). The present writer has supplied the Minnesota Historical Society with a manuscript list of the agricultural periodicals issued in Minnesota. It is based on an unpublished "List of American Agricultural Journals" prepared by Stephen Conrad Stuntz and owned by the United States Department of Agriculture Library.

1860, through April, 1862.² As secretary of the state agricultural society, the editor was in a strategic position to gather material for his paper. His general objectives were summarized thus: "In addition to facts about our crops and agricultural resources, we shall, from time to time, give brief accounts of our schools, colleges and religious denominations, together with descriptions of our beautiful lakes, waterfalls and natural scenery, as well as articles on the Botany, Geology, Climatology and Mineralogy of Minnesota." That the editor devoted his primary attention to the objectives thus delineated is indicated by the fact that the volume here described includes only one article which deals with the crucial contemporary national events of the early sixties. Under the caption, "'What of the Night,'" he rather belatedly reminded his readers that "A fearful storm is gathering, and dark clouds are now obscuring the sky of our country." The article is devoted to "our humble opinion in regard to the prospects for our agricultural interests," and the early Minnesota farmers were advised "to raise all they can."³

Probably the most valuable historical data in this pioneer farm journal are the descriptions of agricultural conditions in the sections of Minnesota which were already fairly well settled. McLeod, Carver, Stearns, Scott, Wright, Rice, Ramsey, Steele, Houston, Freeborn, Olmsted, Sibley, and Meeker counties and the communities of Bloomington, Cottage Grove, and Le Sueur prairie are the subjects of short but enlightening articles. Similar information appears in

² No numbers were issued for March and April, 1861, and the four numbers of volume 2 bear the title, *Minnesota Farmer and Gardener and Educational Journal*. Although the name of Colonel John H. Stevens of Glencoe was carried as one of the editors, there is no internal evidence that he was active in this capacity. The "Explanatory" in the first number states that he had "kindly promised to act as assistant or corresponding editor."

³ *Minnesota Farmer and Gardener*, 1: 56, 173 (December, 1860, June, 1861). The second number of this periodical, that for December, 1860, was "issued upon the first printing paper manufactured in Minnesota, or the Great North-west."

the "Threshers' Reports" and in the "Editorial Correspondence," the column wherein the editor recorded his observations while on tours à la Arthur Young through his particular domain.

Contemporary estimates of Minnesota's agricultural possibilities appear under such headings as "Farming Lands on the Superior Road," "Fertility of Minnesota Soil," and "Advantages of Minnesota for Stock. &c." Although the articles entitled "The New York Tribune on Our Wheat Crop" and "Gov. Ramsey on the Wheat Crop" are significant as foreshadowings of the future, much more space was given to the current experiments in raising apples, winter wheat, broomcorn, strawberries, sorghum, sweet potatoes, cranberries, peaches, chicory, okra, Hungarian grass, madder, sugar beets, hemp, flax, and timothy. Articles on such special topics as "The Present State Agricultural Society," "Our Agricultural College at Glencoe," "The Oldest Farmer," "Not the Oldest Farmer," "A Little Land Well Tilled," "The Best Cultivated Acre," "The Pioneer Grapery," "Wine Making at St. Anthony," "The Biggest Hog," "Fattest Horses," "Another Greenhouse" in St. Paul, and "The First Snow" of 1861 also are contributions to the early agricultural history of Minnesota.

Contributions to general economic history are found in accounts of Winona as a grain market, wheat in store at Hastings, the shipment of flour to New Orleans and Superior, pork raising in Minnesota, and the pork trade of St. Peter. The social history of the state is similarly recorded in articles on the Winona State Normal School, the Central University at Hastings, "Singing in Public Schools," "The Religious Denominations of Minnesota," "Improvements about Minneapolis," "The St. Anthony Chalybeate Springs," "Whitney's Picture Gallery in St. Paul," and "Beautiful Residences."

The *Minnesota Monthly* is another early agricultural periodical which constitutes a similarly interesting as well

as important historical source.⁴ Issued in thirteen numbers during 1869 and 1870, this "North-Western Magazine Devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture, Domestic Economy, Social Improvement, and General Information" carried as its motto, "Faith, Hope, Charity, Fidelity." The editor, Colonel Daniel A. Robertson, took a leading part in establishing at St. Paul in September, 1868, the North Star Grange, the first permanent Grange in Minnesota. He also helped to recast the propaganda circulars of the Grange to emphasize the order as a weapon against monopolies and a medium for co-operative buying and selling. Thus he did much to make the Grange the basis of a political movement rather than a social organization, as Oliver H. Kelley, its founder, had conceived it. The *Minnesota Monthly* was developed as "The Official Organ and Advocate of the Patrons of Husbandry, a Rural Order which is rapidly increasing in numbers and usefulness."

Outstanding among the many agricultural periodicals that have served Minnesota and the Northwest are the *Farmer* and *Farm, Stock and Home*. The former was founded as a monthly by Edward A. Webb at Fargo, North Dakota, in 1882. At first it was called the *Northwestern Farmer* (1882-85); later it was known as the *Northwestern Farmer and Breeder* (1886-93), the *Northwestern Farmer* (1894-98), and since 1898, as the *Farmer*. The paper has been published variously as a monthly (1882-93), a semi-monthly (1893-1909), and a weekly (from 1910). In 1890, Webb removed his publication to St. Paul, where it has since been issued. In 1905, Dan A. Wallace joined the staff, and two years later he became editor in chief, serving in that capacity until February, 1935. The *Farmer* is Minnesota's oldest agricultural periodical, and its files afford the longest continuous record of rural conditions in Minnesota as presented in farm journals.

⁴ Mr. Horace H. Russell has gathered the factual data for this and the next two paragraphs.

Farm, Stock and Home was founded as a semimonthly in 1884 by Horatio R. Owen at Minneapolis. A year later, his brother, Sidney M. Owen, joined the editorial staff, and soon thereafter he began to be recognized as an outstanding agricultural leader in Minnesota.⁵ He gave particular attention to the cause of agricultural education, and he is credited with being one of the men who was largely responsible for the early establishment and development of the college of agriculture of the University of Minnesota. *Farm, Stock and Home* did notable pioneer service in advocating that Minnesota specialize in dairying, and its self-assumed designation as "The Paper that Founded the Farmers' Creameries" is not without justification. For many years, Theophilus L. Haecker, often called the father of dairying in Minnesota, conducted the page devoted to his special field. The periodical is also noteworthy for its treatment of economic conditions and political movements in the eighties and nineties. *Farm, Stock and Home* was absorbed by its eminent contemporary of many years on June 1, 1929.⁶

There is naturally notable variation in the contents of the farm journals issued for a particular region during the course of half a century or more, and there are, therefore, considerable differences in their relative value as a historical source.⁷ Each editor had his own particular ideas of the mission of his paper; each decade brought forth new problems and interests; and each generation of readers had to

⁵ See obituary sketches in *Farm, Stock and Home*, 16:211, 26:135 (May, 1900, February 15, 1910).

⁶ "The Consolidated Publications," in *Farmer and Farm, Stock and Home*, 47:920 (June 1, 1929).

⁷ The United States Department of Agriculture Library has the largest collection of American and foreign agricultural periodicals in the United States. The McCormick Historical Association in Chicago also has a valuable collection. The libraries of the University of Western Ontario at London and the Canadian department of agriculture at Ottawa have comprehensive collections relating to Canada. See Fred Landon, "The Agricultural Journals of Upper Canada," in *Agricultural History*, 9:167-175 (October, 1935).

be approached in different ways. A few statements concerning the contents of agricultural periodicals generally will, however, further emphasize their importance to historians.

The farm journals which catered to the needs of the pioneer generations afford contemporary descriptions of the various geographical subregions as they were being opened to settlement and, to a less extent, of the settlers who poured into them. Editorials and news notes also gave attention to immigrant groups, especially if they were considered distinctive and in the process of contributing something of value to American agriculture. The foreign-language agricultural journals offer what their editors considered the special problems of the respective immigrant communities during their adjustment to American ways of farming.

News items in farm periodicals give supplementary information on the various steps by which virgin land was transferred from the public domain to the individual farmers who undertook the creation of homes and productive fields thereon. The reactions to the policies of the federal and state governments with reference to the disposition of land appear in editorials and in confirmatory and protest letters from readers, and the activities of land companies are reflected in news items and advertisements.

The rise and general progress, whether ultimate decline or relative permanence, of the various crops and livestock are recorded in farm periodicals. The steps by which the agricultural map has come to assume its present form are indicated. The changing ways of farm management and the introduction of new and improved varieties of crops and breeds of livestock are reported in detail. Machinery of all kinds is described in articles and pictured in the advertisements, and attention is given to farm buildings, fences, seeds, feeds, and the sources of draft power.

The problems incident to all phases of the marketing of

agricultural products are discussed at length. The rise and development of producer co-operatives and the disposition of their products are similarly treated. Some of the journals, depending largely on the editor and the ownership, afford much data on the farmer-protest movements. Practically all the editors, as spokesmen for the farmers, gave space to material on political issues such as internal improvements, temperance, suffrage, tariffs, banks, the money standard, and education.

Information on the media by which the scientific knowledge contributory to the evolution of agriculture from a self-sufficing economy to the present-day commercial economy—namely, agricultural fairs, the federal and state departments of agriculture, agricultural schools, colleges, and experiment stations, farmers' institutes, extension service and demonstration farms, county agents, 4-H clubs, and the like—appears in ample detail in farm periodicals. They are also replete with information on what may be called agricultural leaders—the writers, inventors, scientists, and outstanding farmers who contributed to the progress of American agriculture and rural life.

The superstitions, cures, crazes, manias, fevers, and humbugs which hurtled through the countrysides also stand revealed in this source. Although there is no way of knowing the extent to which the endless variety of suggestions not only on better farming methods but on cooking, dressmaking, baby-raising, health, "the hired girl," etiquette, amusements, smoking, and the like were put into actual practice by the farming population, yet their general tenor, plus the occasional pro and con comments thereon, clearly reflect rural mores. The journals likewise include an interesting deposit of the intellectual diet of the farming population in the form of jokes, poetry, short stories, and cartoons.

The multitudinous subjects dealt with in agricultural periodicals constitute an integral part not only of agricultural,

but of general economic, social, and, to a less extent, political history.⁸ It would be a great boon to historians if copies or microfilm enlargements of the farm journals relating to a specific geographical region, such as a state, could be cut up, even figuratively speaking, into articles, editorials, news items, advertisements, etc., and the resulting material arranged chronologically according to subjects in a classified file. The result would be a detailed history of the evolution of agriculture in that region, together with countless sidelights on its general economic and social history. Even a comprehensive and carefully cross-referenced index to a complete collection of these journals would go a long way toward serving the same end. Historians will do well to mine and utilize to the full the wide variety of data available in agricultural periodicals.

EVERETT E. EDWARDS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

⁸ The utility of kindred historical sources are discussed in Everett E. Edwards, "The Need of Historical Materials for Agricultural Research," in *Agricultural History*, 9: 3-11 (January, 1935). Additional references of a similar nature are listed in the same author's "Annotated Bibliography on the Materials, the Scope, and the Significance of American Agricultural History," in *Agricultural History*, 6: 38-43 (January, 1932), later revised and issued in mimeographed form as *References on Agricultural History as a Field of Research and Study* (Washington, D. C., 1934).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

SIBLEY AS A WILD GAME CONSERVATIONIST

When Henry H. Sibley arrived in Minnesota in 1834, he found himself in a hunter's paradise. The lakes and streams were alive with aquatic fowl, the prairies abounded in upland game birds, the woods were full of deer and small game, and over the plains a short distance to the west roamed great herds of buffaloes. The only human enemies of all these wild creatures were a handful of soldiers and traders living at or in the vicinity of Fort Snelling, occasional hunters from the East, and the red men, who depended largely upon game for food. Twenty-two years later, when Sibley wrote the following article, the situation had changed radically, for Minnesota had become the territory that he pictures, with a growing white population and thousands of resident hunters. That they slaughtered game without regard to the season or their needs was looked upon by Sibley, who was one of the most enthusiastic of Minnesota's pioneer hunters, as a subject for legislative action.

It is significant that in March, 1858, less than two years after Sibley wrote this appeal for the conservation of wild life in the West, the first Minnesota game law was passed.¹ In the interval he had been elected governor of Minnesota, though he did not take office until after the admission of the state on May 11, 1858. He doubtless had a hand, however, in the drafting of the law, which prohibited the killing of deer and elk between February 1 and September 1, and of grouse, prairie chickens, partridges, and quail from February 15 to July 15. Not until 1871 was the killing of upland game birds "except by shooting them with a gun" forbidden, and no protection was provided for aquatic fowl until 1877.

¹ Minnesota, *General Laws*, 1858, p. 40.

[From *Porter's Spirit of the Times*, 1:126 (October 25, 1856).]

GAME IN THE WEST

Written expressly for "Porter's Spirit."

By one of the "Old Guard."

MENDOTA, Minnesota Ter., August 28, 1856.

MY OLD FRIEND PORTER:—

I have it from undoubted authority that you are about to sever your long connection with the old "Spirit," with a view to the establishment of another sporting paper to meet the peculiar wants and wishes of that fast animal "Young America." As one of your old friends and correspondents, I greet you heartily, and wish you a full measure of success in the new enterprise; and although many long months have passed since Hal a Dacotah, last paid his respects to your readers, he must now occasionally lay aside the cares of business, and dress up for "Porter's Spirit" some of his experiences in the field.²

It is high time, indeed, that our sporting friends, who in days of yore, were wont to commune together through the medium of the "Spirit of the Times," should do their part in restoring field sports to their ancient popularity, and unite with their brethren of the trigger throughout the country, in putting down the miserable pot-hunting practices, which, unless soon repressed, will result in the extinction of the game of America. True, the onward march of civilization—the heavy and ceaseless tramp of the tens of thousands of white men who are seeking a home in the "Far West," necessarily results in forcing the larger animals, such as the buffalo and elk, farther and farther towards the Stony Mountains, to be met and finally exterminated by the pale faces from the Pacific; but so much more desirable is it, therefore, that the deer and smaller quadrupeds, and the feathered game, should be protected from wanton slaughter, by stringent laws enforced by an enlightened public opinion. It is disgusting to every lover of fair play to witness the ravages committed by the pot-hunter, who coolly murders the deer by torch-light from a dug-out or canoe, during the summer months, or who entraps the grouse and the

²Sibley had been a frequent contributor to the *Spirit of the Times*, writing under the pseudonym here used, "Hal a Dacotah." The first issue of *Porter's Spirit of the Times* appeared on September 6, 1856, with William T. Porter, to whom Sibley addressed this communication, as associate editor.

quail in his villainous nets, for the sake of filthy lucre. Let the game in the proper season be open to every one alike, to be destroyed in a legitimate way, for I am in favor of the largest liberty in that respect, and opposed to all enactments in favor of any privileged class; but no member of the community should be permitted to slaughter wild animals, the flesh of which, when in season, is designed for the food of man, at a period of the year when it is unfit for that purpose. I charge you, friend P., "an[d] you love me," to rebuke and denounce the whole tribe of pestiferous animals, who sport with the lives of little birds merely to gratify a propensity for useless shedding of blood, and who crawl stealthily upon a covey of grouse or bevy of quail, which are huddling closely together on a fence-rail, on a cold December day, merely to boast of having massacred a dozen of his shivering and unsuspecting prey at a single shot. If chronicled at all, such a performance should be stigmatised as a disregard of manly sport, and as displaying on the part of the actor, a total want of kindly and humanizing instincts.

Having now vented my wrath, which has been long bottled up for a proper occasion, *Je reviens a mes moutons*. In our happy and beautiful Territory, where we have no bloody Kansas scenes to deplore, there yet roam the buffalo and the elk, but they are gradually retiring before the avalanche of white settlers who are precipitating themselves upon us. It is probable that many of your readers have but a faint perception of the process, by which the mighty north-west is transformed from a wilderness into a populous State, in an incredibly short space of time. Let them picture to themselves a magnificent prairie, studded with fine lakes, and interspersed with lux[u]riant groves of oak and other timber, with a camp composed of conical skin lodges in the distance, and a troop of daring Dacotah horsemen, accompanied by a single white man, (your friend Hal,) urging the chase of a herd of buffalo—let them regard that as a true scene of 1850, and even later—and then ask them to call up before them the same landscape of 1856, and from the picture will have vanished Indian men, women, and children, buffalo, dogs and lodges, leaving the solitary white man to gaze with amazement, not untinged with melancholy, upon thriving villages, countless farms, teeming with laborers engaged in securing the abundant harvest, and all the other evidences of happiness and comfort which characterize the settlements

of juvenile America. Let them conceive the whole vast area of more than 160,000 square miles, a very small part of which they have looked upon, as containing six thousand whites, all told, in 1850, and of that same area six years later, with a population of two hundred thousand of the prime men, women, and children of the whole land,³ and they will be able to realize, to some extent, how Minnesota has been changed as by the wand of a magician, and how it is that the infant communities of the "Great West" spring into full strength and manhood almost as instantaneously, as armed Minerva from the head of Jove.

To an old hunter like myself, accustomed to the solitude of forest and prairie, these changes are, as I have before hinted, not unattended with the lingering regret which we feel, when some fair but wild vision disappears suddenly from our enraptured view. The Indians with whom I lived and hunted for so many years, where are they? The powerful and haughty tribe of Dacotahs who possessed the fair land, and boasted that they were, and ever would remain its only masters; what is their fate? Turn to the history of the Six Nations, and of the other bands whose graves are numberless on both sides of the Alleghanies, and you will need but little aid from the imagination to enable you to reply correctly to such interrogatories. Broken treaties and unperformed promises on the part of the government, and the presence of a power which the Indians feel their inability to resist—these are but a repetition of the old story, and the humbled and degraded Dacotahs can look for no redress of their grievances on this side of the "spirit land." Their country has passed into the possession of a race who can appreciate its beauties and develop its riches, and my only regret is that the government and its agents have failed to use the opportunities presented to them, to place the poor Indians in a position to be treated kindly and fairly, and to be protected in the possession of the rights secured to them by solemn treaty.

But I will no longer pursue a strain so lugubrious. Let us leave the settlement of these questions in the hand of the Great Father of all.

Since the removal of the larger game from my old hunting-grounds, I have been obliged to content myself with less exciting

³Sibley's estimate of the Minnesota population in 1856 is double the figure given by Dr. Folwell in his *History of Minnesota*, 1: 360 (St. Paul, 1921).

sport. I am now paying due attention to the grouse, which are full-fledged and numerous. As they are deprived of life, *secundum artem*, I imagine the poor things pass out of existence with a feeling of consolation that they have been dealt with scientifically and artistically, and not been subjected to the tender mercies of the mere pot-hunter. The season for deer and for water-fowl is fast advancing, and I hope I shall be about when the time comes. Ducks of almost every variety are abundant in this region in the spring and fall. I recollect, when I was in your sanctum on one occasion several years ago, that some wiseacre insisted, in my presence, that no veritable canvas-backs were ever to be found so far inland as the Upper Mississippi. I intimated, in my civil way, that the gentleman was mistaken, and when I returned home I took some pains to prove my assertion by knocking over a few individual canvas-backs, and forwarding to our friend "Frank Forester" a male and female, duly prepared, and it is quite possible they are still to be found at "the Cedars."⁴ If you hereafter have the question mooted in your hearing, whether we have or have not the Simon Pures, please refer the doubters to "Frank," who will carefully exhibit the proofs.

But this rambling epistle has already been extended beyond proper limits, and I close by repeating my hearty wishes for the full success of "PORTER'S SPIRIT."

Thine as of old,

HAL A DACOTAH.

N. B.—Since the foregoing was committed to paper, I have received the first number of "PORTER'S SPIRIT," and have perused its clear and well-printed pages with great satisfaction. Really it "out Herod's Herod," and I almost shrink from thrusting myself forward into so brilliant a galaxy of correspondence, with "Frank Forester" at the head.⁵ However, my modesty goes to the wall for the nonce, and I must try to do better by and by. "Cor de Chasse" is *some* for digging out the brains of a live panther, by thrusting a buck-horn into his right eye! Whew!

⁴"Frank Forester" was the pen name used by Henry William Herbert when writing about American field sports. He was the foremost writer of his day on this subject. His home, "The Cedars," a cottage in a wooded retreat on the Passaic River near Newark, was built in 1845.

⁵The opening installment of a romantic tale entitled "Omémees, The Young Pigeon of the Ojibwais," written by Herbert and published under his own name, appeared in the first issue of the new periodical.

AN OLD STORE AT MARINE

Calico, coal oil, and plug tobacco are among the items that clutter up the musty daybooks and ledgers of what is believed to be the oldest general merchandise store in Minnesota. It is located at Marine and has been in continuous operation for almost a hundred years. It has not always been in the same building and it has not always operated under the same name, but so far as the records show there has been no break in the operation of the store since it was established in 1839.

At present this venerable store is doing business under the name of R. E. Strand and Company. It has been in the present building since 1872, and at no time in its ninety-eight years of existence has it been more than a block from its present site.

Marine is one of the oldest settlements in Minnesota. It was founded by a group of lumbermen from Marine, Illinois, in 1838. In the following year they built the first sawmill in the St. Croix Valley, and a few months later they opened the store as an adjunct to the mill. At first the store was operated under the name of the Marine Lumber Company, and later under the names of Walker, Judd, and Veazie, the principal owners of the lumber firm. In the middle eighties the lumber company went to the wall and its affairs were liquidated, but the store continued under various names and ownerships until 1914, when Charles Strand, father of the present owners, purchased it. Mr. R. E. Strand took it over in 1927, and in 1935 Mr. Wallace Strand became a partner.

Always it has been a general merchandise store, keeping pace with the changing ideas in that business. In its early years the store catered largely to loggers and rivermen. Old account books of the store now on file at the Minnesota Historical Society give a clear idea of the type of merchan-

dise carried in pioneer years. Here are a few of the items gleaned from the daybook of 1857-58.

1 bbl flour, \$9.50
3¼ lbs. lard at 20c lb., 65c
1 plug tobacco 20c
6 lbs. sugar, \$1
11 lbs. 30 penny nails, 88c
8 yds gingham at 30c., \$2.40

Evidently the early Minnesota settlers were more or less fastidious about their appearance, for the daybook records the sale of a bottle of hair oil at twenty-five cents and two pairs of patent-leather shoes. Whalebones were among the items then carried that are practically unknown in modern stores. Coffee sold at twenty cents a pound, vinegar at twenty-five cents a gallon, and raisins at thirty cents a half pound. Fifteen years later the store was still doing a healthy business in tobacco, for the ledger of 1873-74 records the sale of this product at one dollar a pound. Clothing must have been fairly high, for overshirts were priced at four and five dollars, and socks at eighty-five cents a pair.

The ledgers for 1882 include such items as these:

1 gal. coal oil, 30c
6 lbs. 30 penny nails, 39c
9½ lb. ham @ 18c lb., \$1.71
1 spool cotton, 5c
3¼ lbs. cheese, 58c
1 lantern, \$1.15
9 lbs. pork, \$1.26
1 sack flour, \$3.25
2 lbs. butter, 44c

Long before the passing of the sawmill and the decline of logging operations on the St. Croix the country around Marine had attracted sturdy Scandinavian farmers and the store was building up a large business among these people. The second and third generations now occupy many of the old farms and still do their trading at the Marine store.

In recent years an entirely different class of trade has

come to Marine. Society folk from the Twin Cities have built a large number of summer homes in and around Marine, and of course the Strand store has to cater to them as well as to the farmers and regular village trade. The store carries about everything that its location demands—no-tions, dry goods, hardware, and food.

The exterior of the present building is pretty much the same as it was when it was built. In its earlier days the store was compelled to carry large stocks, as for many years Marine had no railroad and of course steamboats could not operate in winter. For that reason there is a full basement in which provisions were stored. Although the superstructure is built entirely of wood, the building is of massive construction, and after sixty-five years of constant use it is still apparently as sound as ever. Huge timbers and heavy joists were laid on thick foundation walls, which themselves rest on solid rock. A well bored through the rock in the early days still supplies the store with water.

E. L. RONEY

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Frank B. Kellogg: A Biography. By DAVID BRYN-JONES, professor of international relations, Carleton College. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1937. viii, 308 p. Illustrations. \$3.75.)

Trust buster, corporation lawyer, United States Senator, ambassador, secretary of state, and a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice, Frank Billings Kellogg has been sufficiently in the public eye during the past generation to be entitled to a biography, and this is what Dr. Bryn-Jones has essayed. A brief sketch of Mr. Kellogg's early life, depicting his boyhood in New York and Minnesota, his life on a Minnesota farm, the struggle to obtain a legal training, and his entrance into his professional career, precedes an account of his activity as a special prosecutor engaged in pressing suits against several of the more notorious combinations. This activity brought him into contact with numerous political celebrities, among whom was Theodore Roosevelt. Mr. Kellogg admired and liked Roosevelt and between them there grew up such an intimacy that in 1912 Mr. Kellogg followed his leader into the Progressive party.

The first third of the book is the least satisfactory part. It is marred by a certain *naïveté* which, at times, brings an almost Horatio Algerish style. Never is the reader allowed to forget that here is a man who was destined to make his mark in the world. Too frequently occur such phrases as "If Mr. Kellogg could have foreseen the future," "Little did he realize then that his experiences . . . were to be the preparation," and the like.

To some extent one is not quite satisfied with the account of Kellogg's early career because the background is not only sketchily but, on occasion, inadequately blocked in. Judging from citations to such works as Sullivan's *Our Times*, *Taft and Roosevelt—the Intimate Letters of Archie Butt*, or Roosevelt's *Autobiography*, the basic facts are drawn from sources which would not ordinarily be considered authoritative. In some instances the author has gone back to the fundamental materials, but too frequently this is not the case. When it is remembered that Mr. Kellogg first came into general public attention through his prosecution of various combinations, a surer

grounding in the economics of such organizations is desirable. Purporting to deal with these questions in more or less technical manner, the author nevertheless shows some proneness to gloss over vital facts and to use terms in a loose, although possibly popular sense. "Trust," for example, is made to serve as a designation of almost any combination: "The Standard Oil Company was the first trust to be dissolved [in 1911] under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act" (p. 66). Not too much stress should be laid on such a point as this, but it is unfortunate that it may be raised at all.

Estimates of individuals, moreover, seem to be judgments based upon a limited acquaintance with the voluminous literature which might have been tapped. Why E. H. Harriman should be called "one of the more sinister figures in the ruthless struggles of the great financial interests of the period" (p. 39) and J. J. Hill and J. P. Morgan put in a more acceptable category is not made quite clear. Opinions may differ, but more evidence to sustain the judgment should be adduced.

When portraying Mr. Kellogg as Senator, ambassador, and particularly as secretary of state, the author plunges more deeply into the subject and finds himself upon firmer ground, especially where issues of international interest are concerned. In outlining the circumstances which took Kellogg into the Senate in 1917 something more of the internal political situation in Minnesota might well have been included; this would perhaps have led to a clearer and possibly fairer picture of the defeated candidate for nomination, the incumbent Moses Clapp. As Senator, Mr. Kellogg will probably be best remembered in connection with the treaty of Versailles and the covenant of the League. When he was offered a position on the committee of foreign relations by Senator Lodge, Mr. Kellogg refused to be bound by any promise to conform his views to those of the chairman and so was not named, although during his last two years in the Senate he did receive this coveted honor. He did not sign the Round Robin; he was not opposed to the United States' entry into the League with certain mild reservations. He had, in short, an international rather than a nationalistic attitude. His defeat in 1922 by the Farmer-Labor candidate cut short a senatorial career which he apparently would have willingly continued. Here again the narrative would have been improved by a more adequate account of the internal situa-

tion in the state which made possible the election of a Farmer-Labor senator.

With his senatorial career ended, Mr. Kellogg intended to return to his law practice in St. Paul but, at the request of President Harding, he became a member of the United States delegation at the Pan-American Conference at Santiago, and thereby had aroused in him a deeper and more understanding attitude toward the Latin-American problems of his country. Once again intending to take up his law, he was diverted when, in a personal interview, President Coolidge persuaded him to replace George Harvey as ambassador to the Court of St. James's in the late summer of 1923. For nearly two years—he made it clear to the president that he was unwilling to remain beyond the end of the Harding-Coolidge term—he filled this position, agreeably to himself and Mrs. Kellogg, with satisfaction to the British government and people, and with honor to his own country. He had more than a little to do with the London Conference, which put into formal shape the essentials of the Dawes Plan, and with the subsequent Paris Conference. Both conferences are described in a memorandum prepared by Mr. Kellogg which is incorporated in the narrative. In it, among other things, he tells how he might have saved the second conference from failure and certainly saved the government of the United States considerable embarrassment by ignoring instructions from jittery bureaucrats in Washington sent while Hughes was away from the city.

It was while Mr. Kellogg was in Paris that he was sounded about his attitude toward a possible invitation to become secretary of state upon the retirement of Mr. Hughes in March, 1925, so, when a news dispatch from Washington a little later stated that he was slated for the job, it came with no surprise. As secretary, Mr. Kellogg had to do with several significant episodes, notable among which were the revived Mexican question, Nicaraguan intervention, one and nearly the last phase of the Tacna-Arica quarrel, the Pan-American Conference at Havana, attempts at the reduction of armaments, the Chinese embroglio, and the formulation of the Pact of Paris.

Dr. Bryn-Jones does not attempt to pass judgment upon the course taken by the secretary when, in June, 1925, he startled the country and aroused against himself much bitter criticism by his pronouncement upon Mexico in her relations to the world and to the United

States in particular: "Whether the tone of the statement was justified is a matter that must remain in dispute" (p. 176). Indeed, upon most controversial points the author is content to leave judgment to "history." He does point out that it was Mr. Kellogg who suggested Dwight Morrow as the ambassador to Mexico and so inaugurated a new and better period in American-Mexican relations. The author goes so far as to say that in the Nicaraguan affair, which also subjected the secretary to much adverse criticism in this country, "the mistake, if mistake was made, consisted in the sponsorship and speedy recognition of Diaz, and Mr. Kellogg, as Secretary of State, whatever his misgivings may have been, must accept responsibility for that" (p. 194).

Closely connected in fact, and in juxtaposition in the book, with Mexico and Nicaragua was the Sixth Pan-American Conference, the importance of which in allaying criticism in the United States and in placating Latin America was apparent. "Mr. Kellogg realized the importance of the occasion, and . . . he spared no effort to insure its success" (p. 197). The conference gave the secretary, disappointed by the barren results of disarmament efforts, an opportunity "to illustrate the second line of development . . . [in] the establishment of a sound and effective system of conciliation and arbitration for the American continent" (p. 202).

As to China, which was torn by the struggle between North and South, the position of the secretary is given by his biographer in these words:

When coöperation with the other Powers seemed conducive to the achievement of beneficial results . . . he did not permit theoretical considerations or possibilities of misunderstanding to stand in the way of such coöperation. On the other hand he was not prepared to permit such attempts at coöperation to limit America's freedom of action when independent action seemed desirable or necessary (p. 218).

Beyond this he was not prepared to go, as was shown when, following the Nanking incident of 1927, it seemed to him that the other powers, urging joint military action, were about to revert to a "gun-boat policy." Parenthetically it may be said that "from this point Mr. Kellogg charted the course of the United States with sufficient independence to satisfy the most exacting of his critics."

To the evolution and framing of the Pact of Paris Dr. Bryn-Jones devotes his longest chapter, for this he considers the capstone of Kel-

logg's work. In it he includes the secretary's own memorandum covering the episode. No general outline of the steps is necessary here, but attention should be paid to the author's estimate of the respective parts played by Mr. Kellogg and Dr. Shotwell.

Too much credit cannot be given to men like Professor Shotwell who did so much to create and direct . . . public opinion and on occasion to arouse it to action. But it was Mr. Kellogg's open diplomacy that gave that public opinion its unique opportunity for effective and decisive expression (p. 241).

Kellogg himself was sure that the outlawry movement did not give him the idea of the multilateral pact, although he gave M. Briand "the credit of suggesting the idea of a treaty renouncing war" (p. 230). This idea, however, he did not immediately respond to, partly because he feared other nations would feel an invidious distinction and partly because he felt certain the United States Senate would not ratify a bilateral treaty. He ascribed his success in obtaining the assent of sixty-two nations to the pact to his open diplomacy, and in getting ratification here, to his policy of keeping individual senators constantly in touch with the negotiation as it went along.

An evaluation of the significance of the pact, which the author believes to be considerable; accounts of Kellogg's retirement from the department of state, and of his service on the bench of the World Court, in which he thoroughly believed; and some reminiscent remarks conclude the work. While the author is chary in expressing judgments, and can never be said to speak harshly of his subject, the impression carried away from the reading is that Mr. Kellogg was a conscientious and honest person who performed the functions of his numerous public offices with painstaking care but no especial brilliance. Brought up in the tradition of the later nineteenth century, he found it somewhat difficult to adjust himself to changing ideas and ideals, but he was capable of entertaining new notions. In politics he was "regular," except for the temporary digression when he followed Roosevelt into the Progressive movement in 1912, but even as a Republican he deprecated the action of his party on the tariff in 1909, and, at times, displayed a far less provincial attitude than might have been expected from his environment and his upbringing. He never quite grasped the significance of the changing attitude in the United States toward Latin American problems, and was hurt by expressions of displeasure at the course he took as secretary. He out-

distanced many of his contemporaries, especially in his own party, when it came to grasping events in their world significance.

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Anglo-French Boundary Disputes in the West, 1749-1763 (Illinois Historical Collections, vol. 27, French Series, vol. 2). Edited with introduction and notes by THEODORE CALVIN PEASE, University of Illinois. (Springfield, Illinois State Historical Library, 1936. clxxi, 607 p. Illustrations, maps. \$2.50.)

American boundary disputes have for the historian and the international lawyer all the puzzle lure that higher algebra and geometry hold for the mathematician, and all the spell that strategy casts on military men and chess players. Nearly every stretch of frontier has its long history of moves and countermoves on the chessboard of international diplomacy. Many attempts have been made to tell a particular part of the long and involved story of the boundaries. Still the account is incomplete, though Dr. Pease in his book of nearly eight hundred pages has told a minute part of it unusually well.

Dr. Pease is concerned only with boundary disputes in the West. Moreover, he discusses only the documents and events of the years from 1749 to 1763. Thus he is obliged to ignore both the beginning of his problem and its solution. However carefully his portion of the problem is presented, no reader can comprehend all its factors without an intimate knowledge of how, when, and why the various boundary disputes began between England and France and the reasons for failure to settle them on earlier occasions. In particular the reader should know of the earlier attempts of joint commissions (such as those of 1687 and 1699) to set boundaries between the American territories of the two nations.

Unfortunately, archive administration in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had not progressed to the point where the records of earlier disputes could be made available to the men attempting to settle the later ones. Consequently the peace negotiators of say 1761 and 1762 worked almost as much in ignorance of what had happened in 1687 and 1699 as if great and powerful men had not given months of time and vast quantities of energy to problems practically identical with those of the seventeen-sixties. Had books of documents, similar

to Dr. Pease's, been published for the early commissions and treaty negotiations, how much simpler would have been the tasks of the negotiators of the treaties of 1763, 1783, 1814, and 1842. And how many blunders could have been avoided. One of the greatest services that historical societies can render to the cause of peace is the publication of documents, especially those documents which throw light on discoveries, territorial claims, and boundary disputes. They will seem prosy and pedantic to the average reader, but they may save not only wars but millions of acres of territory to some government.

The documents in Dr. Pease's volume are preceded by an extremely long, historical introduction, which will save readers many hours of time. Not only are the documents discussed and evaluated, but the whole diplomatic background of the peace negotiations of the period is given in detail. Very careful editing and translating have gone into the making of the volume. In general it may be said that the text of the translated documents is more lucid than the prose of the introduction, which inclines to be rather heavy and involved.

As no two translators or transcribers will agree on the best method for reproducing a statement or sentence from one language or one medium to another, it may seem idle to point out what the reviewer would consider improvements in the translation and the transcription. The only valid excuse for mentioning them is the fact that other translators and copyists may care to hear both sides of the argument and draw their own conclusions. Persons who have no knowledge of French will be confused by Dr. Pease's use of "Chevalier" in translating such French expressions as "Chevalier Penn" and "M. le Chevalier Robinson." Surely it is better English and more truly a genuine translation to reproduce these French expressions as "Sir [William] Penn" and "Sir [Thomas] Robinson," even though "Chevalier" obviates the necessity, which "Sir" demands, of giving the man's first name.

Dr. Pease explains in a preface that "superior abbreviations have been set down to the line." The reviewer wonders how far such an explanation justifies a transcription like the following: "Mor Machault in his Character of Minr of the Marine . . . sent a Complt to Mor Rouillé . . . in wch one of their Officers had been kill'd by a party of English near the borders of Ohio—He read me the Ler Mor du Quesne the Govr of Canada had wrote to the Bureau of the Marine on the Occasion wch was reced last Week." This

transcription will certainly puzzle nine readers out of ten, who, however, would comprehend that "Mo^r," "Compl^t," and "Le^r" are abbreviations. Probably many of them could go further and conclude that the abbreviations stand for "Monsieur," "Complaint," and "Letter," even though the editor should not see fit to increase his text by supplying the missing letters within brackets.

Three interesting maps are included in the volume, one of which is the Vaudreuil map of approximately the year 1760. Since it shows the boundary between Canada and Louisiana, as marked by Major Frederick Haldimand, it has special interest for Minnesota history. The dotted boundary line is depicted as passing along the Ohio and up the Wabash River to the vicinity of Tippecanoe; thence it swings northwestwardly past the site of Chicago to the headwaters of the Wisconsin and the St. Croix rivers; thereafter it passes directly westward to Red Lake, which is represented as lying a trifle southwest of the site of Duluth! Thus a large portion of Minnesota was regarded, by at least one person in 1760, as being a part of Louisiana.

One of the most significant documents from a Minnesota point of view is a French memoir of August 10, 1761, on the boundaries of Louisiana. The document reveals that the essential value of Canada to France was the fur trade; that most of France's furs came from the regions about and beyond the upper Great Lakes; and that Canada (already promised to England as a result of conquest, but with uncertain boundaries) could be given up with no disadvantage to France, if the limits of Louisiana were placed in such a way as to allow the fur trade to center at New Orleans, which could be reached via the Mississippi River and the Chicago portage, instead of at Montreal. By this plan all Minnesota was to be considered a part of Louisiana.

When similar volumes shall have been published for all the boundary disputes and treaty negotiations in American history, it will be possible to judge how far our present frontiers are results of statesmanship and how far they come from the mere bargaining instinct of our ancestors. At present, on the basis of such material as is presented by Dr. Pease's book, one is strongly tempted to believe that the statesmen of the eighteenth century were few and not the subjects of any one monarch.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

The Changing West and Other Essays. By LAURENCE M. LARSON, professor of history in the University of Illinois. (Northfield, Minnesota, Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1937. ix, 180 p. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

Professor Laurence M. Larson, who retired last year after many years of distinguished service as professor of history in the University of Illinois, is best known as a medievalist. As a young man he wrote a monograph of fundamental importance on the "King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest," and a few years later he followed this with a notable biography of Canute the Great. More lately he has translated into English the old Norwegian courtier's manual, the *Konungsskuggjá* (the "King's Mirror") and, last of all, in 1935, the two oldest Norwegian laws.

The court of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish kings of England and the world reflected in the "King's Mirror" are a long way in time and space from the Norwegian settlements in western America, but Professor Larson for all his preoccupation with old, forgotten things, has never lost touch with the little Norse settlement in Winnebago County, Iowa, to which he came, a very small boy, sixty years or more ago. One can well believe that it was the influence of this boyhood which turned his mature studies to pre-Conquest England and the Scandinavian North. But the influence went deeper. Professor Larson was never a chauvinist. He has never been disposed to make more of the Norse discovery of America than that remarkable achievement really deserves, but he has been deeply interested in pre-Columbian voyages to the New World, and those who heard his lectures on this subject, delivered last spring at the University of Minnesota, must regret that he does not feel ready to publish them.

Apart from this influence, however, which may be a mere guess of my own, Professor Larson has never forgotten the memories of his boyhood and youth in what must be the most thoroughly Norwegian county in Iowa. It is these memories which have led, in one way or another, to the writing of the essays in this volume and which give them their color and savor. No doubt an "American," as we used to call them, could have dealt competently with the same subjects, but the treatment would have been very different. Even the essay on Hjalmar Hjorth Boyeson—the longest in the book and the most impersonal—would have lost something; the glimpse, for instance,

of the great, white *embedsgaard* in Sogn where Boyeson grew up and which Professor Larson so completely understands.

The eight papers here collected cover a wide range. The first, which lends its title to the volume, is a penetrating study of the new America which is growing up in the vast region between the Great Lakes and the Missouri—an America which most certainly is not British, though our speech and our institutions come from England. In two essays, "The Norwegian Element in the Field of American Scholarship," and "The Norwegian Element in the Northwest," Professor Larson discusses briefly the contribution of the Norwegian people to the civilization of the New World. They will not satisfy professional patriots, but they are eminently fair and sane, though they are, necessarily, a little hurried. Two other essays deal with the little explored subject of Norwegian-American literature. The first, on "Tellef Grundysen and the Beginnings of Norwegian-American Fiction" is a notable introduction to a field which urgently calls for its historian. No doubt the works of imaginative literature written in Norwegian in this country of any real artistic significance are few; they are not totally lacking, and even the most amateurish of them have an importance as historical documents out of all proportion to their aesthetic quality. The study of Hjalmar Hjorth Boyeson I have already referred to. In his day Boyeson, all of whose books were written in English, established a great position in American letters. His success was deserved, for there can be no question that he was a remarkable man; but I fancy it will turn out that Boyeson, too, is more significant as a figure in the history of American civilization than of American literature.

But the three essays to which most readers will turn with greatest interest are those on "The Convention Riot at Benson Grove, Iowa, in 1876," "*Skandinaven*, Professor Anderson, and the Yankee School," and the last one of all, "The Lay Preacher in Pioneer Times." These are historical and cultural studies of first-class importance, and they are as engaging as they are important. The first tells of the conquest of an "American" county by Norwegian immigrant voters; the third is a warm and understanding, but not uncritical, appreciation of the lay preachers and the lay movement in the Norwegian Lutheran church. Professor Karen Larsen's biography of her father threw a good deal of light on this chapter of Norwegian-American

history. But who will tell the whole story, so full of dead passions and forgotten loyalties, yet so real, and still so moving?

The battle over education, too, is long since over. Professor Anderson and *Skandinaven* have won. Doubtless they deserved to win. But no one can read the criticism of the old synod pastors of the public school system without a deep conviction that they were in good part right. A separate system of Norwegian schools on Norwegian lines was perhaps impossible, even undesirable. But they built a grand little college at Decorah without the help of coeds, "activities," or a football team.

In a prefatory note Professor Blegen extends to Professor Larson the congratulations of the Norwegian-American Historical Association on the distinguished work he has done and the honors that have come to him. I venture to think that no part of that work has given him more pleasure than this little volume. Certainly no part of it has given more pleasure to others than this will give.

MARTIN B. RUUD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi: The Water Way to Iowa, Some River History. By WILLIAM J. PETERSEN. (Iowa City, The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1937. 575 p.)

In this volume Dr. Petersen has gathered a mass of valuable information about steamboating on the upper Mississippi River. The book covers the period from about 1820 to the late seventies—more than half a century of steamboats and steamboating. The first four chapters give a geographical and historical summary or background, and the story of the development of the steamboat is told in the next five. It is not until chapter 10 that the theme of the volume is reached—steamboating on the upper Mississippi River. In successive chapters, the author tells of the growth of St. Louis as the northern terminus of boats on the lower river; the beginnings of navigation on the upper river by the "Engineer," which in 1820 went up as far as the rapids at the mouth of the Des Moines; and the "Virginia," which in 1823 successfully surmounted the lower rapids and those at Rock Island and steamed on to Fort Snelling. For half a century thereafter, the steamboat was the principal means of transportation for the country above the mouth of the Missouri River.

Dr. Petersen describes in detail the part played by steamboats in the development of the frontier. They transported troops and supplies, they were called into service to carry gifts and annuities to the Indian agencies for distribution among the Indians, to bear government officials to the Indian country to negotiate treaties, and even, upon occasion, to carry Indians from one reservation to another. He points out that steamboats played a part no less important in the fur trade, for they brought trade goods and supplies to the upper Mississippi River posts of the great trading companies, and carried to the fur markets the produce of their trade with the Indians. In the development of the lead mines in the Dubuque and Galena districts, the author shows, the steamboat played a leading role.

The heyday of the steamboat business came in the period when the upper Mississippi River country was opened to settlement. It declined when railroads were built to compete with the boats. Its greatest glory came in the period when Minnesota was being settled. It was then, according to Dr. Petersen, that the steamboat excursions became a popular form of entertainment, and the most spectacular of these was the "Grand Excursion of 1854," celebrating the completion of the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad to Rock Island. At least twelve hundred excursionists on a fleet of seven boats journeyed up the Mississippi from Rock Island to St. Paul and back. The author depicts life on a steamboat as diverting and sometimes uncomfortable, but seldom monotonous. The captains and crews were as colorful as the steamboats they manned. Captains like Joseph Throckmorton and Daniel Smith Harris are the subjects of individual sketches.

The narrative is broken up into forty-eight chapters, most of which are short and episodic. Several of them have appeared previously in the *Palimpsest*, a monthly publication of the State Historical Society of Iowa, and some have been published in slightly different form in *MINNESOTA HISTORY*. They are crammed with facts, and the stories are told, on the whole, in an interesting way. The effectiveness of the book is marred, however, by its organization, for its division into so many short chapters, some of which in turn are subdivided, makes the volume as a whole seem jerky and disconnected. A considerable amount of material is included which is irrelevant to the subject of steamboating on the upper Mississippi River. The first four chapters, for example, could have been summarized in even briefer form, or eliminated altogether, and the same is true of the group of chap-

ters relating to the course of westward expansion. A serious defect is the total absence of maps and illustrations.

Several chapters stand out as superior. They include that dealing with the fur trade, which previously was published in MINNESOTA HISTORY (see *ante*, 13:221-243) and those describing "Life on the Deck and in the Cabin," "Cabin and Deck Passage," and "Many Cargoes and Strange." Throughout the volume, however, Dr. Petersen's industry in collecting material is evident. He made extensive use of the facilities of the libraries in the historical societies of Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, and during the course of his research he traveled thousands of miles up and down the Mississippi, interviewing veteran rivermen, poking into old warehouses, and checking newspapers and manuscripts in scores of out-of-the-way places. He has unearthed a wealth of material to enrich the story of steamboating.

Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh contributes a prefatory note, which at first glance might seem to be a list of chapter headings. It has the appearance of blank verse, but perhaps it is an example of poetic surrealism.

ARTHUR J. LARSEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

Western Lands and the American Revolution (University of Virginia, Institute for Research in the Social Sciences, *Monographs*, no. 25). By THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY. (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937. xv, 413 p. Maps. \$4.00.)

This scholarly study of the political problems involved in the administration of the lands situated between the Appalachian divide and the Mississippi River opens with a summary of Virginia's activities in that region prior to 1766. It concludes with an account of the movement for new western states during the Confederation period. The author traces the efforts of colonies and states to handle the land question, with especial reference to Virginia and its relations with Pennsylvania and North Carolina, and discusses the place of the West in national politics and international diplomacy. Little attention is given to the evolution of land policy.

Contributing fresh detail concerning land companies and outstand-

ing speculators, Professor Abernethy asserts that their interests did not follow a sectional or provincial alignment, and he points out that economic advantage was not necessarily dependent upon the political jurisdiction either of a particular state or of Congress. It is his view that the middle-state group of merchant speculators did not believe their land claims would be hopelessly sacrificed even though the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains remained under British or Spanish control; hence in 1782 they did not insist upon the Mississippi as a boundary. Evidence is introduced to show that after the war the Wilkinson intrigue and the separatist movements in the Southwest were initiated mainly by speculators and did not have the support of the rank and file of the western settlers.

The chapters of the book are of somewhat uneven merit, perhaps because the author confines himself too closely to his notes to present a well-rounded narrative. Yet his research has been prodigious and students of the period will be grateful to him for the detailed information that he has brought together. The reference value of the volume is enhanced by the reproduction of several contemporary maps.

CHARLES M. GATES

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE

The Church Founders of the Northwest: Loras and Cretin and Other Captains of Christ. By M. M. HOFFMANN. (Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1937. xiii, 387 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

This book tells the story of Catholic beginnings in Iowa and Minnesota. It is occasioned by the centenary, in July, 1937, of the establishment of a bishopric in Dubuque. Bishop Loras was the founder of catholicity along the upper reaches of the Mississippi, and Joseph Cretin, first bishop of St. Paul, was intimately associated with him in his work. Father Hoffmann, author of this study, has long been identified with the narrative of religious history in the Northwest. As secretary of the Iowa Catholic Historical Society he has taken pains to discover and evaluate sources of information hitherto unused. And the panorama that he outlines, although wide and varied, is done with considerable exactitude of detail, a fine sympathy, and true perspective. This is easily the best work that has appeared in this field.

Source material that had long been gathering dust in Dubuque,

Washington, St. Paul, and Paris is here brought to light and presented judiciously. Obviously, it could not all be used, but enough is presented to document the story. The tale of governmental bungling of the Indian problem, the smug intolerance that defeated genuine Christian zeal, is recounted and illustrated. The heartaches caused by misunderstandings and national antipathies are indicated where they seemed to interfere with the work of religion. The struggles of the pioneer missionaries to build, out of the poverty of their flock, churches, schools, and charitable institutions, are depicted; and credit is given to the various organizations of the Old World that sustained the work with well nigh two hundred thousand dollars given from 1838 to 1858 during the episcopacy of Bishop Loras. These and other features that formed the background against which these missionaries labored are sketched with a capable hand. There may be some over-accentuation in one or another detail, but the author has preserved good balance.

Similarly, the author avoids painting too strongly the characters that he discusses. They are there, "warts and all," with their quarrels and petty littlenesses serving betimes to enhance the heroism of their lives. For after all, these churchmen were first of all men. And so we read of a fine generosity that often set innate prejudice aside to work for the good of the cause. Of chief interest is the fine friendship that bound Loras and Cretin. But many other colorful figures fill in the scene: Ravoux, Pelamourges, Mazzuchelli—who was Matthew Kelly to many an Irish admirer—Galtier, and Pierz.

Of flaws there are not many, nor are they serious. There is a stiffness in some of the translations—those particularly that are done from documents in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in France. Joseph N. Nicollet is called Jean (p. 39, 40, 65, 105), and there is mention of "several of the nieces" of Bishop Cretin, whereas he had but one living at the time he was bishop. A letter said to be undated (p. 97) actually is dated in the text, and it shows that the day of Cretin's departure from France was August 27, 1838, instead of August 17, as is indicated by Father Hoffmann. But these are minor errors that detract but little from the superior worth of his study.

JAMES L. CONNOLLY

ST. PAUL SEMINARY
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1865. By JOHN D. HICKS, professor of history in the University of Wisconsin. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937. xvii, 734 p. Illustrations, maps. \$3.50.)

In this study Professor Hicks surveys American history from the period of discovery to the emergence of the Federal Union, after the Civil War, as "one and indivisible."

The fruit of eighteen years of lecturing to college students—as the author himself discloses—the volume is richly interpretative, admirably objective, lucid in presentation, and eminently readable. For college use it has qualities that make for teachability. For the general reader who wants to freshen his history and bring his interpretations into conformity with the latest scholarship, the volume is well adapted. The allocation of space is good. The West as a formative influence in American history fittingly receives greater attention than has been customary. The slavery controversy does not overcrowd the stage. Foreign relations are handled with fine objectivity. The biographical sketches are deftly done. The footnotes are intended as suggestions for further investigation so that the reader, as he advances, is reminded, often with succinct comment, of the wealth of material available. The forty-seven illustrations—half of them portraits—are well chosen, and the thirty-four maps—one-third of them in color—are in general good. In short the reviewer finds a great deal to commend and nothing worth mentioning to criticize.

CLARENCE W. RIFE

HAMLIN UNIVERSITY
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

A Check List of Manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection. Compiled by RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER. (Chicago, The Newberry Library, 1937. viii, 295 p. \$5.00.)

The first impression that one gets of this volume is the exceedingly favorable one that comes from handling a book of fine design and workmanship. Cover, size, texture of paper, type, margins, and general format—all conspire to make the reader eager to explore further. As he studies the text, he finds that the form has not belied the substance. It is a thoroughly planned, well-executed check list of an important collection of manuscripts.

Though the collection seems rather heterogeneous, if randomly sampled, it actually groups itself into seven divisions: manuscripts relating to the history of North America, Spanish America, the Philippine Islands, and the Hawaiian Islands; and documents concerning the languages of the Indians and of the natives of the Philippine and Hawaiian islands. It should be added that many of the entries represent merely copies, not original manuscripts.

Among the manuscripts most closely related to Minnesota history are the Dousman Papers, various documents of American Fur Company interest, numerous single letters and other items of the French regime in Canada and the West, several Henry H. Sibley items, material on the Dakota language, Indian mission data, some correspondence of Josiah Snelling, letters by George Copway, copies of certain Bobé documents of early eighteenth century geographical interest for the country west of Lake Superior, a letter by John Marsh concerning the so-called Carver grant, a copy of the Pénicaut narrative, and some Robert Rogers items.

G.L.N.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Dr. John T. Flanagan ("The Hoosier Schoolmaster in Minnesota") is an instructor in English in the University of Minnesota and has contributed to this magazine a series of articles on the visits of noted literary figures to Minnesota. Lois M. Fawcett ("Some Early Minnesota Bells") is the head of the reference department in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. Dr. Fulmer Mood ("An Unfamiliar Essay by Frederick J. Turner") has been a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, an international research fellow at the Huntington Library, and a member of the history faculty of Harvard University. Helen Dunlap Dick ("A Newly Discovered Diary of Colonel Josiah Snelling") was educated at Wellesley College and is a resident of Minneapolis. Mrs. Dick has written for the *Bellman*, the *Ladies Home Journal*, the *Springfield Republican*, and other newspapers and magazines. Everett E. Edwards ("Agricultural Periodicals") is agricultural economist for the bureau of agricultural economics in the United States department of agriculture and editor of *Agricultural History*. E. L. Roney ("An Old Store at Marine") is the president of the Washington County Historical Society. He is connected with the *St. Paul Daily News*. The reviewers include Professor Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota, who has recently edited *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary* for publication by the University of Minnesota Press; Professor Martin B. Ruud, also of the University of Minnesota, editor and translator with Mr. Blegen of a recently published volume entitled *Norwegian Emigrant Songs and Ballads*; Father James L. Connolly, professor of church history in St. Paul Seminary; Dr. Charles M. Gates, formerly on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society and now a member of the history faculty of the University of Washington at Seattle; Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the historical society; Professor Clarence W. Rife, head of the history department in Hamline University; and Arthur J. Larsen, head of the newspaper department in the library of the historical society.

The eighty-ninth annual meeting of the society will be held in St. Paul on Monday, January 10, with the usual sessions: a conference on local history, the annual luncheon, the afternoon business session, and the annual address in the evening. Dr. Edgar B. Wesley, professor of education in the University of Minnesota and the author of *Teaching the Social Studies*, *Guarding the Frontier*, and other important books, will give the annual address. He has chosen as his subject "History at Home."

A total of 326 readers used the manuscript resources of the society during the quarter ending on October 1. In addition to Minnesota, students came from New York, Wisconsin, Iowa, Nebraska, Washington, D. C., and the province of Manitoba to consult manuscripts in the custody of the society. Among the readers were members of the staffs of the United States department of agriculture, the National Archives, and the National Park Service. One user of manuscripts was Martha Ostenso, the well-known novelist.

The society has recently acquired a "Recordak" or reading machine, which projects impressions made on motion picture film onto a white surface, where they are enlarged to several times the size of ordinary news print. The machine is particularly adapted for use in the reading of film copies of newspapers.

Among the Minnesota scenes reproduced in miniature groups recently placed on display in the society's museum are an early lumber camp, an open pit iron mine, and a Red River ox-cart train. A total of thirteen groups depicting typical scenes from Minnesota pioneer life have now been completed for the society by artists engaged in a WPA project.

Fourteen annual members joined the society during the quarter ending on October 1: James D. Abajian of Madison, Wisconsin; Lewis Baker of Osakis; Helen B. Clapesattle, Agnes Elstad, Marion Gale, Ethel Hallberg, Louise Mott, and J. Cameron Thompson of Minneapolis; and Alice B. Daley, Wood R. Foster, Gertrude Krausnick, Georgiana P. Palmer, George J. Ries, and Marvin W. Strate of St. Paul.

The Chippewa Region Historical Society, with headquarters at Cass Lake, has become an institutional member of the society.

The society lost ten active members by death during the summer and early fall: Sylvester W. Runyan of Detroit Lakes, June 27; Dr. Charles W. Bray of Biwabik, July 7; Edwin G. Chapman of Minneapolis, July 12; Anson S. Brooks of Minneapolis, August 3; John M. Bradford of St. Paul, August 13; Hugh J. McClearn of Duluth, August 24; John G. Williams of Duluth, August 29; William L. Hilliard of Lengby, September 5; Franklin M. Crosby, Jr., of Minneapolis, September 7; and Otis M. Botsford of Winona, September 27.

The superintendent participated in a conference held at Atlantic City on September 24 and 25 under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council to discuss ways of promoting the study of local history in the United States.

"Immigration and the Westward Movement in Ballad and Song" was the subject of an address presented by the superintendent at the Superior State Teachers College on July 7. He described the state historical convention of 1937 at a meeting of the Zonta Club of St. Paul on July 13. Miss Nute spoke on "A Boyhood at Old Fort Snelling" before the Minneapolis Women's Club on August 31, and on "The Voyageur" at a meeting of the Study Club of Minneapolis on September 24. Mr. Babcock gave talks on "Hunting History by Automobile" before the Optimist Club of Minneapolis on July 21, and on "Highways and History" at meetings of the Blue Earth County Old Settlers' Association at Mankato on August 12 and of the Marshall County Historical Society at Stephen on September 19. "Some Historic Bells of Minnesota" was the title of a paper read by Miss Fawcett at a meeting of the Minnesota Public Health Association in St. Paul on August 10.

ACCESSIONS

Film copies of about sixteen hundred sheets of the *Nor'-Wester*, a newspaper which began publication in the Red River settlements in 1859, have been made for the society from originals preserved in the Provincial and Public libraries of Winnipeg. The decade from 1859 to 1869 and the years 1874 and 1875 are represented in the files copied. Now that the film copies have been added to the few originals in the society's possession and photostatic copies of some issues

from the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, it is possible to consult in the society's library more issues of this excessively rare newspaper than in any other library. The *Nor'-Wester* is rich in material on Canadian-American relations and on the history of the Red River Valley, both in Minnesota and in Canada.

A volume of records of baptisms, marriages, and burials at St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Lake Elmo from 1855 to 1937 has been copied for the society by the photographic process. The Reverend W. D. Ahl of St. Paul has presented several volumes of the records of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church of Washington County, including minutes of meetings of the congregation and the trustees from 1861 to 1881, three pulpit books of church announcements made from 1877 to 1905, and a register of families that have belonged to the church. The latter gives the places and dates of births of individuals and, for those of foreign birth, the dates of immigration to America.

A volume of minutes of meetings of the society and the board of trustees of the First Presbyterian Church of Hastings in the period from 1856 to 1876 has been presented by Mr. Clifford Nordstrom of Hastings.

Minutes of town meetings and of the meetings of the board of supervisors, papers relating to the construction of roads, poll and tax lists, records of the justice of the peace, and financial records are included among the archives of Independence Township, Hennepin County, covering the period from 1858 to 1932, recently received through the courtesy of the township officers. Articles of association or bylaws for the Minnetonka Fruit Growers' Association, the Maple Plain Fruit Growers' Association, the Maple Plain Co-operative Creamery Company, and the Independence Co-operative Dairy Association also are to be found among the archives, which fill twenty-five boxes and thirteen volumes.

Transcripts and calendar cards of items of Minnesota interest recently made for the society from New England newspapers in Boston libraries include information on the Indian missionary and orator, George Copway, on panoramas and cycloramas, on slavery in Minnesota just before the Civil War, on Jane Grey Swisshelm, on the

Hutchinson family of itinerant singers, and on Caleb Cushing, Robert Rantoul, and other investors in water-power rights on the St. Croix River.

Lists of people killed in Renville County in the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, of whites and half-breeds at Camp Release in October, 1862, and of Indians condemned by the military court at that place are among seven items from the papers of Stephen R. Riggs, missionary to the Sioux, which have been presented by his son, the Reverend Thomas L. Riggs of Oahe, South Dakota. Mr. Riggs has presented also his own "Comments on the Hazelwood Republic."

Camp life in Iowa and Kentucky during the Civil War is described in a diary kept in Graham shorthand by True Morrill and presented by his nephew, Mr. M. H. Morrill of Superior, Wisconsin, together with a typewritten translation. The author was a member of Company K of the Thirty-eighth Iowa Volunteer Infantry.

Letters of William G. Le Duc, Ignatius Donnelly, and Russell Sage are included among seventy items recently copied for the society by the photostatic process from the papers of William K. Rogers in the possession of the Harvard College Library. All the items relate to the building and financing, from 1868 to 1870, of the Hastings and Dakota Railroad, of which Le Duc was president and Rogers, attorney.

Five letters written between 1868 and 1875 by Albert E. Bugbee from Paynesville in Stearns County to a friend in his old home at Belchertown, Massachusetts, have been copied for the society through the courtesy of his daughter, Mrs. R. F. Schwartz of Paynesville. In 1870, Bugbee reported that a "young man can make more money in a year, & live upon less than half that he could in the East." He told his friend, however, that "things are not quite as convenient and comfortable here as they are in the East, but every year brings us nearer and nearer to the manners and customs of the East." Bugbee was an enthusiastic hunter, he taught school, played in the town band, and served as town clerk, and comments on all these activities are included in his letters.

Some twenty volumes of records of the Church of the Good Shepherd in St. Paul for the period from 1869 to 1917 have been added

by Mr. George Bell of St. Paul to the archives of the Minnesota diocese of the Protestant Episcopal church. Included are records of baptisms, marriages, and burials, minutes of meetings of the parish and vestry, account books, registers of communicants, and class books of the parish and Sunday schools. Mr. Bell has also added to the diocesan archives two account books of the Church Mission Society of St. Paul and minutes of its meetings from 1887 to 1893.

The reminiscences of a pioneer railroad engineer in Minnesota, Mr. E. T. Abbott of Minneapolis, have been presented by the author. The building of railroads in the state and of street railways in Minneapolis receive much attention, and descriptions of Minneapolis and of Nicollet Island in the seventies are included.

Diaries kept in the Mennonite community of Mountain Lake from 1881 to 1900 by John Becker and from 1916 to 1920 by Mrs. Hermann J. Fast, both in German, have been copied for the society from the originals in the possession of Mr. J. J. Becker of Mountain Lake. They relate for the most part to farming operations and agricultural prices, and to social and church activities.

The papers of the late Jean Spielman, Minnesota state printer from 1933 to 1936 and a national organizer for several labor unions, have been presented by his widow, who resides in St. Paul. They consist for the most part of letters, newspaper and magazine clippings, and leaflets relating to the labor movement in the United States. Included are three volumes of minutes of meetings from 1901 to 1910 of a flour packers' union of Minneapolis, later known as the Flour and Cereal Workers' Union. Other items in the collection relate to Spielman's activities as a representative of the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders.

Interesting and detailed information on the school districts of Pope County, compiled by the Pope County Historical Society with the assistance of the WPA, has been filed with the society. The material includes a brief history of each school district, a map showing its original and present boundaries, a chart giving financial statistics, and lists of officers and teachers, with the latter's salaries.

Papers on Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., by Mr. Robert D. Anderson and on "The People's Lawyer: A Study of the Life of James

Manahan and His Part in the Progressive Movement of the Middle West" by Carlyle Beyer have been presented by their respective authors. Both were submitted in June, 1937, at Hamline University for special honors in the department of history. A master's thesis on "Governor John A. Johnson and the Reform Era in Minnesota State Government," submitted at the University of Wisconsin by Roy W. Oppegard, has been copied on film slides for the society.

Theatrum belli in America septentrionali is the title of a map, probably published in Germany about 1776, recently acquired by the society. It shows the eastern half of what is now the United States and southern Canada, including much of the Mississippi Valley and the present state of Minnesota. Changes in county lines and names in Minnesota can be traced on five other maps recently added to the map collection. Three published by J. H. Colton and Company of New York depict Minnesota Territory in 1855 and 1856 and Minnesota and Dakota in 1861. Included also are H. B. Griswold's map of Minnesota Territory in 1857, probably published at New Orleans, and a map of the state in 1874 published by Taintor Brothers and Merrill of New York.

A copy of C. J. Bertrand's *Histoire de la ville d'Ath, documentée par ses archives* (Mons, 1906) has been presented by Mr. E. C. Gale of Minneapolis. The volume is of Minnesota interest because it includes a sketch, and a brief account of the explorations, of Father Louis Hennepin, who was born in the Belgian village of Ath.

A recent addition to the society's collection of publications relating to the Scandinavian elements is a volume of reminiscences by Eivind D. Aakhus entitled *Minne frå noreg og Amerika* (1932. 112 p.). The author emigrated from Norway in 1878, settled in the Red River Valley and engaged in farming, and later became well-known as a violinist. In the first quarter of the present century he gave many concerts in Minnesota.

Candelabra, trays, candle snuffers, a coffee pot, serving dishes, serving spoons, a ladle, teaspoons, forks, and many other handsome pieces of silver that were used in the home of Dr. and Mrs. William W. Folwell have been presented by Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis.

Among recent additions to the society's numismatic collection are a dollar paper note issued by the Dayton bank of St. Paul, from Mr. Clinton L. Brooke of Evanston, Illinois; three paper notes issued by the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad, from Mr. Carl Vitz of Minneapolis; and some medals presented by Mrs. Barbara B. Lindstrom of Mason City, Iowa.

A cape of white moire trimmed with a heavy fringe, dating from the late fifties, and a quilt that was brought to Minnesota in 1871 are the gifts of Miss Hattie M. Hawes of Minneapolis. Miss Elcie Hotchkiss of St. Paul has presented a black taffeta mantle worn in 1855.

NEWS AND COMMENT

One of the nation's largest and most valuable collections of American historical material is described in a recently published *Guide to the Resources of the American Antiquarian Society: A National Library of American History* (Worcester, Massachusetts, 1937. 98 p.). A sketch of the history of the society and accounts of its membership, its publications, its needs, and its building precede the detailed description of its resources—of the many classes of materials that it collects and preserves. Among the illustrations are reproductions of pictures, title pages of rare books, manuscripts, broadsides, and other items. It is of interest to note that the librarian of the society is Mr. R. W. G. Vail, a former librarian on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Jesuit Relations of Canada, 1632-1673: A Bibliography is the title of a scholarly work by James C. McCoy which is described in the introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth as the "sublimation of a century of progress by numerous scholars in the correct listing and description of the 132 editions and distinct variants in which the 41 separate Relations are found" (Paris, 1937). The inclusion of reproductions of the title pages of the principal editions of the *Relations* is an interesting feature of the book.

The *American Literary Annuals & Gift Books, 1825-1865* that are the subject of a recent volume by Ralph Thompson (New York, 1936) sometimes included contributions by western writers and articles about frontier life. In his "Catalog" of gift books, for example, the author reveals that the *Iris* for 1852 was made up largely of tales by Mrs. Mary Eastman about Indians who lived in the vicinity of Fort Snelling. The volume was reissued under the title of the *Romance of Indian Life* in 1853. Mr. Thompson could have pointed out that some of William J. Snelling's stories with a Minnesota setting appeared first in gift books.

A hundred and thirty-one Minnesota items are included in a union list of the *Official Publications of American Counties* compiled by James G. Hodgson, librarian of the Colorado State College (Fort

Collins, Colorado, 1937). In the preparation of this impressive list, which includes more than five thousand items, "325 libraries were checked or were circularized for holdings." Most of the Minnesota items included are to be found in the library of the Minnesota Historical Society. The work has been published in mimeographed form.

The administration of William Gates LeDuc as United States commissioner of agriculture from 1877 to 1881 is reviewed by Alfred C. True in his *History of Agricultural Experimentation and Research in the United States, 1607-1925*, which has been published by the department of agriculture as number 251 of its *Miscellaneous Publications* (1937). Mr. True concludes that "LeDuc's administration was marked by definite expansion and strengthening of the Department's scientific work." The early agricultural experiment work of the University of Minnesota also is discussed in the volume.

A general study of *Social Security in America*, published by the Social Security Board as number 20 of its *Publications* (Washington, 1937. 592 p.), contains much information about activities in the individual states before the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. For Minnesota, for example, figures are to be found in this volume relating to employment and unemployment, unemployment compensation, old-age assistance, the care and protection of children, aid to the blind, infant and maternal mortality, public health service, and the like.

Major Charles W. Elliott of Minneapolis, who contributed material from his father's diary to the June number of MINNESOTA HISTORY under the title "The University of Minnesota's First Doctor of Philosophy," has recently brought out, through the Macmillan Company of New York, a full-length biography of *Winfield Scott: The Soldier and the Man* (1937. 817 p.). Based as this work is upon many years of patient research by a resourceful scholar who has attempted to find and use all significant and pertinent materials, manuscript and printed, it at once takes rank as an authoritative biography, the first adequate work written on the career and character of General Scott. It is at the same time a fascinating story, clearly and interestingly written. This magazine is not the place to review in detail the subject matter of Major Elliott's story, but one

direct Minnesota connection should be noted — a visit of inspection by the general to Fort St. Anthony in the twenties and his recommendation, made to Secretary Calhoun, that its name should be changed to Fort Snelling, in honor of Colonel Josiah Snelling, an "old comrade." In a few words Major Elliott etches a picture of the frontier fort: "The post was then a lonely sentinel deep in the virgin wilderness; the two great cities Minneapolis and St. Paul, which now flank the reservation, were then nonexistent." T.C.B.

A chapter of Oscar Thompson's *American Singer* (New York, 1937) is devoted to the career of Olive Fremstad, the Norwegian American prima donna, whose family settled in Minnesota in the early eighties and who "was a soprano soloist in a prominent Minneapolis church and was attracting attention locally in concerts" when she was sixteen years of age. Other artists mentioned in the volume who went from Minnesota to the operatic stage are George Meader and Florence Macbeth.

In *Printing in the Americas* (New York, 1937), John Clyde Oswald has tried to tell in one volume something of the history of printing not only in each state of the Union, but in the rest of North America and in Central and South America as well. The Minnesota section of the volume covers seven pages (p. 438-44), the greater portions of two of which are devoted to illustrative material. Mr. Oswald discusses the beginning of the newspaper press in Minnesota, mentioning briefly the *Minnesota Register*, the *Minnesota Pioneer* — forerunner of the present-day *St. Paul Pioneer Press* — and a few other St. Paul newspapers of the fifties, as well as the *St. Anthony Express*, the *Northwestern Democrat* of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, and the *Falls Evening News*, the first daily newspaper in Minneapolis. The Twin City newspaper combine of the seventies, headed by the *Pioneer Press* of St. Paul, which merged the leading daily newspapers of the Twin Cities into one edition, is given considerable attention. The development of printing other than that done by newspapers is not discussed, except for a brief mention of the press taken to Cass Lake in 1849 by Alonzo Barnard, a missionary among the Chippewa, and a somewhat more detailed account of the growth of the McGill-Warner Company of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The accounts of printing in the various states are sketchy, but much valuable information is assembled in the volume. A.J.L.

That the National Editorial Association was organized as a result of a resolution adopted at a conclave of the Minnesota Editors' and Publishers' Association in 1884 is brought out by Alfred M. Lee in his recent volume on the *Daily Newspaper in America* (New York, 1937). At the instance of its president, Benjamin B. Herbert, the Minnesota association suggested the "calling of a convention to organize a National Editors' and Publishers' Association in and for the United States of America," and in the following December a "committee of five headed by Herbert circularized the associations of the country with the request that they attend" such a meeting at New Orleans in February, 1885. At this meeting, writes Mr. Lee, the "first permanent organization of national scope for general trade purposes among newspapermen . . . took shape."

Henry R. Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865* has been revised and extended by Charles L. Camp and issued in a new and handsome edition by the Grabhorn Press of San Francisco (1937. 299 p.). Geographically, the scope is about the same as that of the edition of 1921. According to Mr. Camp, "the field covered is the region west of the Missouri and east of the Sierra Nevada, Oregon and Washington, north of Mexico and Texas and south of the Arctic Circle."

In the first of two volumes on *Hunting Wild Life with Camera and Flashlight: A Record of Sixty-five Years' Visits to the Woods and Waters of North America*, George Shiras, 3d, deals with the "Lake Superior Region" (Washington, National Geographic Society, 1936). Although much of the author's material is drawn from northern Michigan, the birds, animals, flowers, trees, and fungi that he pictures and describes are typical of the Minnesota country also. Whole chapters, for example, are devoted to muskrats and beavers. "Moose and Deer of Northeast Minnesota and Adjacent Ontario" is the title of another chapter, which deals largely with the Superior National Forest and the Gunflint Lake area. It includes an appreciation of the work of Carlos Avery as state game commissioner.

The "joyful strength and shameless extravagance of America in her Heroic Age" are reflected in the stories of wilderness heroes

which have been reprinted in a volume entitled *Their Weight in Wildcats: Tales of the Frontier* (Boston, 1936). Ruggedly appropriate drawings by James Daugherty help to picture such frontier characters—some real and some mythical—as Mike Fink, Johnny Appleseed, Kit Carson, and Paul Bunyan.

Steamboating on the Mississippi is the central theme of numerous articles published in the annual magazine of the Streckfus Line, the *Scenic Water Way*. "Early Steamboat Days in the Twin Cities" are described by Robert B. La Rock in the issue for 1935-36, and an account of the route of the "President," which makes its summer headquarters at St. Paul, appears in the 1936-37 number. Another interesting item in the latter issue is a pictorial record of "River Craft from the Earliest Times." A useful survey of the "Official Status of the Upper Mississippi Lock and Dam Project" from the Twin Cities to Alton, Illinois, appears in the number for 1935-36.

Edgar A. Custer's *No Royal Road* (New York, 1937) is the autobiography of a man who played a part in the development of the American railroad industry during the period of its expansion after the Civil War. Custer was born in Altoona, Pennsylvania, just at the outbreak of the war. At the age of seventeen he began a period of apprenticeship in the Altoona shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and he later entered the employ of the Baldwin Locomotive Works at Philadelphia. For the latter concern he traveled about the United States testing locomotives that the Baldwin shops designed and manufactured. This work took him to Minnesota in the early nineties. An account of several weeks that Custer spent in the lumbering and railroad town of Brainerd is included in his reminiscences (p. 185-194).
A.J.L.

Under the title "Recreating Pioneer Days," Iduna Bertel Field describes the Norwegian-American Historical Museum, which is located at Decorah, Iowa, in the autumn number of the *American-Scandinavian Review*. Its primary purpose, according to the writer, is the preservation of "everything that reflects the history, life, and environment of the Norwegian pioneers in this country." She suggests that "If groups representing the early settlers from other countries would do as the builders of the Norwegian-American Historical Museum have done, the result would be a well-rounded visual history

of the United States valuable to the scholar and full of human appeal."

German settlements in Minnesota at Hamburg in Carver County, New Ulm, St. Paul, Minneapolis, St. Cloud, Fergus Falls, and Duluth are mentioned by Max Hannemann in a study of *Das Deutsch-tum in den Vereinigten Staaten: Seine Verbreitung und Entwicklung seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Gotha, 1936). The progress of German settlement in Minnesota and other states of the Union is graphically illustrated in a series of maps.

One scarcely expects to find historical material of special Minnesota interest in the biography of a Mississippi governor and senator active in the period before the Civil War, but there are several interesting Minnesota items in Professor James B. Ranck's new biography of *Albert Gallatin Brown: Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1937). Brown was a member of the United States Senate when the question of the admission of Minnesota to the Union came up. Opposing the clause in the proposed Minnesota constitution which permitted aliens to vote, Senator Brown declared, "I know not whether we are here more under the influence of foreigners or Black Republicans." He was one of those who were responsible for the long delay in the admission of the North Star State. What he really wanted was the entrance of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. If Kansas was excluded, Brown suggested, Republicans should exclude Minnesota to prove their good faith—and "there would be peace all over the country." Professor Ranck draws a lifelike portrait of this Southern politician in his scholarly and well-written book.

Miss Alma Hill Jamison's account of the "Cyclorama of the Battle of Atlanta," which appears in the July issue of the *Atlanta Historical Bulletin*, has a Minnesota interest because the huge canvas that she describes, or one like it, was displayed in Minneapolis in 1886. The cyclorama of which Miss Jamison writes is now on permanent display in Atlanta, but she cannot be certain that it was shown in Minneapolis since she has evidence that two copies of the great picture were prepared. Certain it is that both were painted in Milwaukee and that the same corps of artists worked on both. Contemporary newspaper accounts reveal that the picture presented in

Minneapolis was 380 feet long and 50 feet high and that it was displayed in a specially constructed circular building. Spectators stood on a "raised balcony in the center, with the painting stretched all around."

Life on a prairie farm in frontier Kansas of the late seventies is pictured by Howard Ruede in a series of letters which has been edited by John Ise and published by the Columbia University Press under the title *Sod-House Days: Letters from a Kansas Homesteader, 1877-78* (New York, 1937. 248 p.). The letters, according to the editor, "picture a community without the advantages of railroad service, where all farm products sold and all products bought . . . had to be freighted in lumber wagons fifty miles over the rough prairie trails," in a region that "had passed the stage of buffalo hunting and Indian fighting, and had settled down to the undramatic task of earning a living and perhaps a small fortune from the soil."

A valuable bibliography of *Indiana Imprints, 1804-1849*, by Douglas C. McMurtrie, has been issued by the Indiana Historical Society as volume 11, number 5, of its *Publications* (Indianapolis, 1937). Mr. McMurtrie declares that his list is a "supplement" to Mary A. Walker's monograph on the *Beginnings of Printing in the State of Indiana* (Crawfordsville, 1934), and he points out that he has included numerous items that were not mentioned in the earlier publication. He presents also a "list of printers, printing offices, and printing points which are 'not in Walker.'"

Readers of Mr. Flanagan's article in the present issue of this magazine may be interested to know that the centenary of the birth of Edward Eggleston is being marked this month in his native community, Vevay, Indiana. A local women's organization, the Julia L. Dumont Club, devoted a program to the life and work of the "Hoosier Schoolmaster" on December 3.

"Once-glorious Galena" is the subject of an interesting sketch by Esther E. Eby which appears in the *Journal* of the Illinois State Historical Society for July. The importance of the town on the Fever River in the development of Minnesota is indicated, for some mention is made of the steamboats that carried travelers, merchandise, and news between Galena and St. Paul, and the fact is noted that the completion of the railroad "brought a flood of emigrants bound for

Minnesota Territory." Among the illustrations is a view of Galena in 1856 after a lithograph by Edwin Whitefield.

An exhibit of books, maps, and manuscripts from the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan has been arranged to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 and the centennials of the admission of Michigan to the Union and of the establishment of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. Under the title *Michigan through Three Centuries*, the University of Michigan Press has issued an attractive descriptive catalogue of the items displayed (20 p.). Many of them relate to the general history of the Northwest and Minnesota as well as to Michigan.

The visit to Fort Snelling of Mrs. Elizabeth S. Hamilton, the widow of Alexander Hamilton, in the summer of 1837, when she was eighty years of age, is recalled in an article on "High Society in Pioneer Wisconsin," which appears in the June issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Mrs. Hamilton went west to visit a son who resided in the Wisconsin lead region, and thence she made the voyage up the Mississippi on the steamboat "Burlington." On board she met George W. Featherstonhaugh, the explorer, who reported that "this lively old lady, now about eighty years old, told me that, knowing she might not have a long time to see things of this world in, she had determined to avail herself of the great facilities for traveling and pay a visit to her son; and having an inclination to see all she could, was determined to ascend the Mississippi to the St. Peter's." Her reception at the frontier fort, as described by a member of her party, must have been a royal one. In the "Colonel's barouche" she visited "Lake Calhoun, the Falls of Minnehaha and St. Anthony," and upon her return to the fort "Col. Campbell and the officers were in waiting at the entrance, and he offered Mrs. Hamilton his arm to conduct her through the parade ground. A carpet had been spread, an armchair ready to receive her. . . . After enjoying the military display for some time, the Colonel took his distinguished guest into the quarters where refreshments were prepared." Another item of Minnesota interest in the June issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* is a group of "Sample Letters of Immigrants." Among them is one written at Fort Snelling in 1862, and another sent from Young America in 1873.

"One of the world's long-lost historical treasures apparently has been found!" With this remark Herbert E. Bolton prefaces his announcement, in a special number of the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, issued in March, 1937, of the finding of "Francis Drake's Plate of Brass" near San Rafael, California, in the summer of 1936. The importance of the discovery and the nature of the plate did not become apparent until the finder took it to Professor Bolton in February, 1937. It has since become the property of the University of California. Professor Bolton considers the authenticity of the tablet "beyond all reasonable doubt," and he looks upon its discovery as "one of the most sensational in all California history."

Many of the "Stories of Roberts County" that have been appearing during the summer and fall in the *Sisseton* [South Dakota] *Courier* are from the pen of Mr. H. S. Morris, a grandson of the Minnesota missionary, Stephen R. Riggs. Legends of the Sioux, with whom the writer has been intimately associated during his entire life, are included, as are numerous stories of frontier life both in southwestern Minnesota and eastern Dakota.

The first installment of "Sources and Documents" relating to "Mennonite Immigration into Manitoba" in 1872 and 1873 is presented by Ernst Correll in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for July. In his introduction Mr. Correll reports that he found a "remarkably complete collection of various records on the movement in the early 1870's of the Mennonites from Russia into Canada" in the Public Archives of Canada. "Here and there," he writes, "the archives reveal the concern of the Canadian Government as it is forced to face the competition of appeals made to prospective European emigrants by more experienced land agents from the United States." He found, however, one letter from a settler in Manitoba who believed that his province was "destined to be the keynote to successful emigration to Canada as Ohio, Iowa and Minnesota were in turn for the U.S.A."

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT GRAND PORTAGE

A second season of field work on the site of the Northwest Company's post at Grand Portage has been brought to a conclusion. This investigation was conducted by workers engaged in a project of the

United States Indian Service under the supervision of the Minnesota Historical Society, as a continuation of work begun last year by the same agencies (see *ante*, 17:461). It is proposed to learn as much as the ground will tell of the plan of the post and the method of its construction and then to reconstruct the stockade with its gates and blockhouses and two of the buildings. One of the latter will house the large collection of materials found in the course of the excavations and other objects illustrative of life at old Grand Portage.

Some of the more interesting and significant results of the recent work are the discovery of the remains of the foundations of the main hall and of the complete or partial outlines of four other buildings, one of which may very well have been the residence of the superintendent. A well or cistern that was unearthed and dug out was found to be slightly more than eleven feet deep. It contained a considerable quantity of wood remains, including handmade barrel staves, parts of a wooden paintpot, a fragment of shingle, and, at the very bottom, a shard of dishware. Elsewhere on the site large quantities of occupational debris and trade articles were collected, among them pieces of clay pipes, handmade locks and hinges, which may serve as patterns for the hardware of the buildings to be reconstructed, the mechanism of a flintlock gun bearing the word "London" stamped in uneven letters, flints for guns, handmade nails, window and bottle glass, firesteels, fragments of copper utensils, trade knives, beads, and the like. Pieces of Indian origin were few in number, and were limited to such articles as implements used in working hides and fragments of stone pipes.

In certain sections of the enclosure ample evidence of the occupation of the site after the removal of the Northwest Company's post has been found. Some may date from the time of the American Fur Company's occupation; the remainder are from that period to the present. No indications of occupation earlier than that of the Northwest Company have been found or recognized on this specific area, and no cultural debris identifiable as French has been found. It is possible that British traders who worked there before 1785, as well as earlier French traders, built their posts east of Grand Portage Creek, almost anywhere on the long, flat field back of the shoreline of Grand Portage Bay.

It is hoped that in the summer of 1938 the stockade with gates and blockhouses and a building typical of the trading posts of the late

eighteenth century will be reconstructed at Grand Portage, and that visitors will be able to see them by fall. Students of history will follow further developments with interest, since this was once the most important trading post in what is now Minnesota.

RALPH D. BROWN

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

A survey of *General Legislation concerning Counties in Minnesota* has been published in mimeographed form as an introduction to the *Inventory of the County Archives of Minnesota* by the historical records survey of the WPA (St. Paul, 1937. 31 p.). In a preface to the booklet, Mr. Jacob Hodnefield, state director of the survey, announces that it will be followed by a "series of county archives inventories, one number for each county." Sections on the "Establishment and Government of Counties" in Minnesota and on "Records and Record Keeping" are followed in the present pamphlet by analyses of laws establishing various county offices, boards, courts, and functions.

More than a hundred acres of land in southwestern Minnesota were set aside as the Pipestone National Monument by an act of Congress approved on August 25. "An area unique in historical, ethnological, and geological interest" is thus brought under the administration of the National Park Service. It includes the famous pipestone quarry where the Indians from time immemorial obtained the red stone for their pipes. After the discovery of the quarry by the artist-explorer, George Catlin, in 1836, the stone, which is found only in the general area of the monument, was given the name of catlinite. An interesting provision of the act establishing the monument reserves to "Indians of all tribes" the right to quarry the red pipestone.

An interesting account, by Viola Ventura, of the work of restoration and excavation that is being conducted at Fort Ridgely appears in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 17 (see *ante*, p. 328). With the article is a plan of the original fort. Pictures of the excavations, of buildings that are being restored, and of the fort cemetery appear in another section of the paper. An account of the excavations appears also in the *New Ulm Review* for September 20.

"The pattern of Minnesota's history from its earliest days . . . can be traced through the road markers that dot the state's highways and byways to commemorate historic spots and events." This announcement is made in an article on state highway markers appearing in *Fisher's Marvelous Minnesota Manual* for 1937, a publication which purports to be "A Complete Guide to the Land of Ten Thousand Lakes." "All of these markers are authentic," the article continues. "The history they represent has been studied and verified by the Minnesota Historical Society. And the markers have been erected on the highways by the State Highway department as close to the actual scene as possible." Among the markers noted are those designating the sites of fur trading posts of the French and British periods, of Sioux War battles, of ghost towns, of railroad colonies, and of pioneer settlements. Historic sites and highway markers are discussed also in an article by Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the historical society, which appears under the title "Hunting History by Automobile."

The first prize in the Donald E. Bridgman essay contest in history and political science conducted at Hamline University in 1937 was awarded to Helen McCann, whose subject was "James Evans, Missionary to the Indians." Evans worked chiefly among the Cree of western Canada and he originated the "syllabic system still used by the Indians." Miss McCann's essay is based in large part upon copies of Evans' diaries and other source materials in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. For an essay on "Pioneering in Minnesota," Lorraine Blake was awarded the second prize in the contest. First prize in economics went to John Johnson, who wrote on the "Highways of Minnesota." His essay and that by Miss McCann appear in the May issue of the *Hamline Piper*.

A history of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota by Congressman Henry G. Teigan is reprinted from the appendix of the *Congressional Record* for September 7 in recent issues of the *Minnesota Leader*. The first installment, in which the author traces the origin of the Minnesota party to the Nonpartisan League of North Dakota, appears in the issue for September 18.

The early "History of Medical Education in Minnesota" is reviewed briefly by Dr. Franklin R. Wright in the September issue of

the *Journal-Lancet*. Medical schools established in St. Paul in 1871 and in Minneapolis in 1881, according to Dr. Wright, "gave up their charters and joined to form the University Medical School" in 1888. He relates that in Minneapolis, the "Minnesota Hospital College was one of the first schools in America to require any microscopic laboratory work."

Followers of the Trail: A Pageant of Early Minnesota, written and produced by the historical committee of the woman's union of the St. Anthony Park Congregational Church of St. Paul on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, has been published in pamphlet form (1937. 32 p.). In the earlier episodes the arrival and activities of the Pond brothers are depicted; later episodes relate to the beginnings of the St. Anthony Park community, to the founding of the Congregational church there, and to its growth and progress.

A bibliography, by Margaret Briggs, of books and articles published from 1920 to 1935 on the subject of the *Mesabi Iron Range* has been published in mimeographed form by the division of library instruction of the University of Minnesota as number 4 of its *Bibliographical Projects* (1937. 37 p.). The compiler has aimed "to cover those subjects pertaining directly to the mining industry and so nothing on schools, immigration, or social conditions generally has been included." She does, however, devote sections to "Biography," to "Description, exploration, history," and to "Range towns." Miss Briggs's list is intended to supplement earlier bibliographies published in 1915 and 1920.

Reports on *Consumers' Cooperation in Minnesota* and on *Co-operative Trucking Associations in Minnesota* have been prepared by workers engaged in a WPA project under the supervision of Russel Lewis and published in mimeographed form by the Minnesota department of agriculture, dairy and foods (1937. 117, 24 p.). The same project is responsible for a report on the origin and development of *Credit Unions in Minnesota* (1937. 127 p.). Included is a brief history of the movement, in which it is revealed that in the decade from 1926 to 1936 the number of credit unions in Minnesota increased from 6 to 225, and the membership, from 938 to 41,874.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Sioux Outbreak was marked at New Ulm by a great community celebration from August 18 to 22.

It was estimated that sixty-five thousand people gathered in the Minnesota Valley city for the final day of the festivities. The history of the outbreak was reviewed by Mr. Fred Johnson, president of the Brown County Historical Society, in an address presented on August 19; and numerous articles of historical interest appeared in the local press. Special illustrated sections devoted to the history of the community and events connected with the Sioux War were issued with the *New Ulm Daily Journal* of August 2 and the *New Ulm Review* of August 19. The *Journal* published also, in its issue for August 18, a pictorial map of the outbreak. Many newspapers of other communities, particularly in southern Minnesota, devoted much space to the history of the massacre and to reminiscent narratives of survivors. Accounts of the battles of Redwood Ferry and Birch Cooley, for example, appear in the *Redwood Gazette* of Redwood Falls for August 12 and September 2; the story of the Manannah massacre is retold in the *Meeker County News* of Litchfield for September 2; the experiences of O. L. Barnes, whose family lived in Carver County in 1862, are described in the *Mankato Free Press* for August 16; and the story of the Lake Shetek massacre is reviewed in the *Tracy Headlight-Herald* for August 20. The value of all this newspaper publicity is emphasized in an editorial on "Local History" which appears in the *New Ulm Review* for August 23. "If it were not for occasional historical anniversaries how much would the average man know about the history of his state and community?" asks the editor. He points out that "Some schools teach a certain amount of Minnesota history, but it is sketchy at best," and he suggests the possibility of including "some local history in the high school, if not the grade school courses" at New Ulm.

Some incidents in the career of James W. Lynd, a victim of the Sioux War of 1862, are described by George G. Allanson in the *Henderson Independent* for August 6. Lynd's trading activities are mentioned, but his services as a newspaper editor, a political leader, and a student of Indian life are emphasized. Comments on his political activities during a campaign for a seat in the state senate in 1860 are quoted from a number of Minnesota Valley newspapers. At the time of his death, Lynd had ready for publication a work of five hundred pages on the "Dakota Tribes of the Northwest." A prospectus of this book from a contemporary newspaper is quoted by Mr. Allan-

son. Unfortunately, the bulk of the manuscript was destroyed during the outbreak.

The fiftieth anniversary number of the *Prison Mirror*, a publication of the Minnesota State Prison at Stillwater, appeared on July 15. It contains a detailed history of the paper, based largely upon a complete file in the possession of the prison. The *Mirror* is said to have originated in 1887, when fifteen inmates, including the Younger brothers, pooled two hundred dollars to start a paper. "Their investment was paid back into their personal accounts, plus 3% interest." Eventually the paper became the property of the prison library.

In a little book entitled *Busy Years*, Edward W. Decker records the story of his experiences as a Mower County farmer's son, a resident of Minneapolis, and an official of the Northwestern National Bank of Minneapolis (95 p.). The first section includes an account of the migration of the author's parents from New Jersey to Minnesota, where they settled on a farm near Austin in the spring of 1856.

A sketch and a portrait of Dr. William W. Folwell appear in a genealogical work entitled *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of McMath* by Frank M. McMath (Memphis, 1937). Dr. Folwell's maternal grandmother was Elizabeth McMath.

The names of many Minnesotans are included in a recently published genealogy of the *Descendants of Andrew Hyde of Lenox, Massachusetts* by Edith Drake Hyde (1937. 58 p.). The author is a resident of Minneapolis.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

Judge William E. Scott of Two Harbors, Miss Deloris Carey of Duluth, E. P. J. Chapman of Grand Marais, and Otto E. Wieland of Duluth were among the speakers who addressed the ninth annual North Shore Historical Assembly, which met in Duluth on September 4. The assembly is made up of members of the Cook, Lake, and St. Louis county historical societies. Judge Scott suggested that a small "unnamed lake which is the true source of the St. Louis river be designated Lake Culkin" in honor of Mr. William E. Culkin, who has served as president of the St. Louis County Historical So-

ciety since its organization in 1922. A committee was named to bring the matter before the Minnesota geographic board, which acted favorably upon the suggestion on September 20.

The history of Elm Creek, a small stream that enters the Mississippi near Champlin, was reviewed by Dr. Scipio Bond in a paper presented at a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society on September 13. In the absence of the author, the paper was read by Mrs. Lynn French. It is published in the *Anoka Herald* for September 22.

A "Chippewa grand medicine scroll" was among the objects displayed by the Becker County Historical Society at the county fair early in August. In addition to Indian objects, both Sioux and Chippewa, many items that Scandinavian pioneers brought to Becker County were included in the exhibit, which is described by Arthur P. Foster in the *Detroit Lakes Tribune* for August 19.

During the celebration at New Ulm of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Sioux Outbreak, hundreds of visitors viewed the exhibits of the Brown County Historical Society in the local library, according to an announcement in the *New Ulm Daily Journal* for August 23. A special display of photographs of events and people connected with the story of the outbreak was arranged by Mr. Fred W. Johnson, president of the society.

The work of the Chippewa County Historical Society was explained by its secretary, Mrs. L. N. Pierce of Montevideo, at a meeting of the Milan Parent-Teacher Association on September 27. She described the exhibits in the society's museum and announced that more than five hundred visitors had been recorded during the past summer. A trip by covered wagon from La Crosse to Chippewa County in the early seventies was described by Miss Edwina Gould.

A recent addition to the museum collection of the Clay County Historical Society is a cannon used in the seventies on the Red River steamboat "Selkirk" to announce its arrival as it approached a landing. The history of the cannon, which is said to have been brought into the Northwest by the Hudson's Bay Company, is outlined in the *Moorhead Daily News* for July 22.

About seventy-five members of the Cook County and Thunder Bay historical societies assembled at Grand Portage for a joint meeting on September 19. Mr. Ralph D. Brown described the recent discoveries on the site of the Northwest Company post and guided the visitors over the area under excavation.

A program of talks and addresses was presented at the seventh annual picnic of the Crow Wing County Historical Society, which was held at Round Lake on July 11. Among the speakers were Mr. John Morrison of Onigum, who displayed and explained a collection of objects used by a member of the grand medicine lodge of the Chipewewa; and Captain E. B. Miller, who reviewed the story of Fort Ripley.

At a meeting of the Koochiching County Historical Society held at Big Falls on August 11, Mr. V. T. Byman told of his activities in excavating Indian mounds in northern Minnesota and displayed some of the objects found in mounds. Special attention was given to an unusually large mound at Laurel, and plans for marking the site of this mound were made.

"Highways and History" was the subject of a paper presented by Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, at the summer meeting of the Marshall County Historical Society, which was held near Stephen on September 19. More than two thousand people attended. Mrs. H. I. Yetter spoke on early days at Stephen, and Mr. P. A. McClernan of Grand Forks reviewed the story of the fur trade in the Red River Valley. Mr. Babcock's paper appears in two installments in the *Warren Sheaf* for September 22 and 29.

Residents of Martin County who have lived in log cabins or sod houses were honored at a meeting of the Martin County Historical Society held at Truman on August 29. Sketches of pioneers and descriptions of their early homes appear in the issues of the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* from August 3 to 28. Many of the accounts are illustrated with excellent pictures of crude frontier houses. A pretentious home built at Fairmont by Percy Wolleston in 1876 is described in the issue for August 7. A list of "168 log cabiners" appears in the *Sentinel* for August 28. Among the speakers participating in the program at Truman, which was heard by more than three thousand

people, were Mrs. Liva Dodge, who reviewed the history of the village, and Mrs. Nora Conklin, who outlined the story of Nashville Township. Their papers appear in the issues of the *Truman Tribune* for September 2 and 9. An account of pioneer experiences in Westford Township, presented by Norman T. True, appears in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for August 30.

At a meeting of the Nobles County Historical Society held at Worthington on August 15, the following officers were elected: C. R. Saxon of Indian Lake, vice president; Julia Hyland of Worthington, secretary; and Frank Morgan of Worthington, treasurer. Mr. A. L. Wells of Brewster continues to serve as president.

A number of letters written by Mr. Vernon A. Wright while on a surveying trip in western Minnesota in the summer of 1881 have been presented by Mr. Elmer E. Adams to the Otter Tail County Historical Society, according to an announcement in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for September 21. Extracts from the letters are included in the report, which was prepared by E. T. Barnard, curator of the society's museum.

Mr. Avery F. Haney was elected president of the Pipestone County Historical Society at a meeting held at Pipestone on September 6. Other officers elected at the same meeting were J. W. Pierce, secretary, J. E. Morgan, treasurer, and Marion Farmer, historian. Among the speakers participating in the program were Senator J. V. Weber of Slayton and C. J. Crowley.

At a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society held at Hermantown on July 29, "Recollections of the Swan Lake Road and Other Roads" were presented by T. H. Merritt, "Minnesota State and Minnesota Arrowhead Guides" were described by Fern Brooks, "Nationalities in St. Louis County" were discussed by Vaino Konga, and the "Hinterland of Duluth" was described by William E. Culkin.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

A Norwegian colony in Blue Earth County that had its origin in 1856 when two families from Keokuk, Iowa, settled on the shores of Jackson Lake is the subject of an interesting historical sketch in the *Blue Earth County Enterprise* of Mapleton for August 13. The

three Lutheran church congregations that were established as time went on to serve the needs of the growing settlement are the chief concern of the writer. He relates that in the early sixties the Reverend B. J. Muus visited the colony as a missionary and supplied the settlers with a congregational constitution, which was adopted in May, 1862, when the Jackson Lake Lutheran Church was organized.

The New Ulm Battery, which was organized after the Sioux Outbreak of 1862 by a group of citizens who "resolved never to be caught again unprotected," is the subject of an article by Mayor Albert D. Flor of New Ulm in the *New Ulm Review* for July 29. The forty-two charter members of the battery and those who have served as its officers from 1862 to the present are named. Some additional information about the battery appears in the *Review* for August 23. A sketch of Christian Prignitz, the surveyor who drew the plat of New Ulm in 1858 and whose plan is responsible for many of the city's present features, appears in the *Review* for September 2.

The sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of Norwood is the occasion for the publication of an article on its early history by Ernest Meyer in the *Norwood Times* for July 2. A local business firm established by August Hartelt as a blacksmith shop in 1872 is the subject of another article in the *Times*.

That the Chippewa County Fair had its origin in 1898, when "some 20 acres of land was purchased and the Chippewa County Driving Park and Fair association was formally launched," is revealed by Carl G. Engstrom, secretary of the present fair, in the *Montevideo American* for September 10. He asserts that the early fairs were little more than driving meets arranged by members of the Montevideo driving club. After a few years corn and grain were displayed, and in 1907 a grandstand was built.

An incomplete file for the years 1871 to 1874 of a handwritten paper issued at Montevideo and known as the *Valley Ventilator* forms the basis for a series of articles which appear in the *Montevideo News* from July 30 to September 24. In addition to literary contributions, the paper included local news notes on such subjects as roads, ferries, mail service, bridges, current prices, social activities, and the lyceum, and it gave enthusiastic support to the temperance movement.

The story of 4-H Club work in Clearwater County since the organization of the first clubs in 1922 is reviewed in the *Farmers' Independent* of Bagley for August 19. In the same issue appear several articles about agricultural fairs in the county. The premium lists issued each year since 1907 by the Clearwater County Agricultural Society are described, and the history of the organization is outlined. The latter narrative is based upon the minutes of the society, which begin with the first annual meeting, held on February 15, 1907.

The issue of the *Brainerd Tribune* for September 9 is a sixty-fifth anniversary number, commemorating the establishment of the paper by Morris C. Russell on February 10, 1872. A survey of the history of the paper reveals that the first issue was "printed at the St. Cloud Journal office, and expressed to Brainerd where it was eagerly received by a crowd of men who met the stage. . . . Its three hundred copies were sold immediately."

Some photographs of "Old Mills of Southern Minnesota" are reproduced with a brief note about Mr. O. C. F. Sorenson, the miller who operated them, in the *Northwestern Miller* for August 4. One picture shows a windmill sixty feet in diameter that was used at Claremont in the early seventies; the others are interior and exterior views of a mill at Rockton which was built in 1869 and operated until 1894. "Some of the stone buhrs from Rockton are still used" in a mill later established by Mr. Sorenson at Kasson.

A brief history of the *Alexandria Citizen-News* appears in its issue for September 23, which marks the seventieth anniversary of the founding of the paper. Its origin is traced to the first Douglas County newspaper, the *Alexandria Post*, which was established by William E. Hicks in 1868.

The history of the Preston band is traced back to the early nineties in an article published in the *Preston Republican* for August 19. The directors of the organization are named and the methods by which it has been financed are described.

A log cabin built by Ole Gulbrandson near Gordonsville in 1853 is described as the "first human habitation erected by a white man in Freeborn County" in the *Glennville Progress* for September 30. A picture of the structure, which now stands on the fair grounds at Albert Lea, accompanies the article.

The part played in community life by the Red Wing Fire Department during eighty years is described by C. A. Rasmussen in the *Red Wing Daily Republican* for July 28. The author records that the "Protection Hook and Ladder company organized in 1857" was the first Red Wing fire department, and that its equipment consisted "only of a few ladders and buckets carried on a wagon of crude construction." In the seventies, writes Mr. Rasmussen, "it was considered a special distinction" to be a member of the fire department. "The organization was prominent in a social way and powerful in city politics."

That "Franklin Steele's Arrival 100 Years Ago Started Events Leading to Founding of City" of Minneapolis is the theme of an article by B. W. Phillips which appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for August 15. Steele is described as the "true founder of Minneapolis, its pioneer builder, and for many years its leading citizen" and the "state's first 'big business' man." His business activities are emphasized throughout the article—his services as sutler at Fort Snelling, his milling activities on the St. Croix and at the Falls of St. Anthony, his pioneer staking of a claim at the falls, his building of a suspension bridge across the Mississippi, and his ownership of huge tracts of Minnesota lands. A view of St. Anthony in 1851 and a picture of the sutler's store at Fort Snelling are among the illustrations that accompany the article.

Some "Reminiscences of the Minneapolis Mill Explosion of 1878," as told by James Pye to Charles H. Briggs, appear in the *Northwestern Miller* for September 22 under the title "The Message of a Ghost that Exploded." Mr. Pye, who was a student at the University of Minnesota when the explosion occurred, made a special study of its causes, and he designed the machinery for some of the mills that were rebuilt.

The history of the Metropolitan Theater of Minneapolis, which was demolished recently, is the subject of a series of feature articles by Earl N. Pomeroy, the first of which appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for September 5. Among the subjects touched upon are the building of the theater in 1893, the opening performance in March, 1894, some of the stars of the past who appeared on the Metropolitan stage, plays that were popular in the middle nineties, and some early

operatic performances. Each article is elaborately illustrated, and additional pictorial records of the Minneapolis theater appear in the rotogravure sections.

Installments of a history of Akeley, Badoura, and White Oak townships in the eastern part of Hubbard County are contributed by J. H. Nixon to the *Hubbard County Herald Tribune* of Akeley for June 24, and July 1, 8, and 22. The writer, who "first saw this part of the county in May, 1896, and has been intimately connected with the development of this section ever since," passes rapidly over the period of exploration to deal with the development of lumbering, the beginnings of settlement, the building of roads, the establishment of schools, and the like. The early history of the village of Akeley also receives some attention.

The forgotten railroad village of Caroline on the old Winona and St. Peter Railroad between Mankato and Kasota is the subject of an article in the *Mankato Free Press* for July 10. The recent removal of the railroad tracks and of the signal tower—the last indications of the village site—are noted. A picture of the tower accompanies the article.

A brief historical sketch of the Icelandic Lutheran congregations in Lyon and Lincoln counties in the vicinity of Minneota appears in the *Minneota Mascot* for August 27. The writer, the Reverend G. Guttormsson, asserts that the Icelandic settlers in the neighborhood "began to work toward organizing a parish in the fall of 1878, just three years after the first of them had taken his homestead in Lyon county." The first services were held in 1879 and the first permanent pastor took charge of the parish in 1887. Early religious influences and experiences at Westerheim are recalled by Mrs. J. A. Josefson in the same issue of the *Mascot*.

A History of Lester Prairie and Community by Emil C. Ernst and Gerald Litschke has been published by the *Lester Prairie News* in commemoration of the golden jubilee of the village, which was celebrated on July 17 and 18 (1937. 73 p.). Although the village was not platted until 1886, settlement began on the site as early as 1856. The authors relate that the first settlers were Mr. and Mrs. John Lester, for whom the village is named. They present brief accounts also of the arrival in the vicinity in the late fifties of groups of Ger-

man Protestant, German Catholic, Norwegian, French, and Austrian settlers. The building of railroads, the incorporation of the village, the establishment of schools and churches, the development of agriculture and industries, the building of roads, and many other subjects are touched upon.

A brief history of the village of White Earth on the White Earth Indian reservation appears in the *Mahnomen Pioneer* for August 20. The building of schools, churches, a government blacksmith and carpenter shop, a store, hotels, and other structures after the Indians were removed from Gull Lake in 1868 and the later development of the community are described.

The history of the Middle River Co-operative Creamery, which was established in 1907, is reviewed by its secretary, E. W. Evans, in the *Marshall County Star* of Warren for July 1. Some of the background of the Marshall County community and a brief account of its settlement in the eighties and nineties are given, and the establishment of co-operative creameries in neighboring towns, such as Thief River Falls, is noted.

A history of the Austin Floral Club, presented at a recent meeting of the organization by Mrs. J. E. Detwiler, is published in full in the *Austin Daily Herald* for September 18. She revealed that the club was organized in 1869 by a group of pioneer women who wished to study floriculture, beautify their home community, and establish a circulating library. Before the end of the year, the library was opened with 225 volumes on its shelves. The club supported and maintained the Austin library until it was taken over by a Carnegie library early in the present century. The Austin Floral Club is said to be the "oldest women's club in the state, and one of the oldest in the United States."

Bits of news gleaned from early newspaper files are used as points of departure for descriptions of events in the history of Austin which occupy an entire page of the Saturday issues of the *Austin Daily Herald* from July 10 to September 11. The erection of new buildings, sports, social activities, the careers of local celebrities, the burning of the schoolhouse in 1890, and the growth of local industries are among the subjects touched upon. The origin and development of Austin's chief industry, the Hormel packing plant, is featured in sev-

eral issues. On July 10, for example, several items are included relating to the meat market opened in 1887 by George A. Hormel and Anton Friedrich. An outline of the early history of the plant that grew out of the partnership follows. More information about its growth appears in the issues for August 7, 14, 21, and September 4 and 11.

A recent visit to Lake Wilson of J. W. Brangdon of Portland, Maine, is the occasion for the publication of an article about his part in the founding of the community in the *Lake Wilson Pilot* for September 23. The village was established in 1883 by J. E. Wilson of Chicago, who purchased a large tract of land in the vicinity, and Mr. Brangdon was sent to Murray County to manage the project. He recalled that a model village was planned and built.

A store at West Newton, in Nicollet County near New Ulm, which has been closed since the death of its owner, A. Harkin, in 1898, is described by Warren L. Hullinger in the *New Ulm Daily Journal* for August 20. Not only the original building, but the stock on the shelves and the books and other papers in the safe have been kept intact by the present owner, Mr. Rudolph Massopust, on whose farm the old store is located. It contains a veritable museum collection of dry goods, drugs, farm implements, and groceries available to the customers of a country store of the nineties. Several views of the interior and the exterior of the store illustrate the article.

New light on the beginnings of the National Colony, which was established in Nobles County in the early seventies, is afforded in a letter published in the *Worthington Globe* for August 12. The writer, the Reverend B. H. Crever of Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania, visited the newly founded colony, probably in November, 1872, and recorded his impressions for the *Colony Journal*, a newspaper published at Toledo, Ohio, for the National Colony. His letter is reprinted in the *Globe* from an issue of the *Journal* in the possession of Mr. J. E. Moberg of Worthington. Upon arriving at Worthington, Crever found "a hundred and fifty men busily engaged, the greater part of whom were in the employ of the railroad company." He expressed the hope that the town that was being rapidly built would "be equal to the beauty of the location." A portrait of Crever appears with his letter.

The value of baptismal records in the study of local history is brought out in an article in the *Brooten Review* for August 19, which calls attention to the records of a pioneer Pope County congregation of the Norwegian Lutheran church. The earliest baptisms recorded are those of May 7, 1865, and these are presented in the *Review*. They give not only the names of the children baptized, but those of their parents and of the sponsors, and they mention the owners of the homes on Lake Johanna in which the ceremonies were conducted. The record was kept by the Reverend Peter S. Reque, a pioneer missionary pastor.

The museum collection that is being assembled in the St. Paul post office is described in the *St. Paul Daily News* for September 17. "The museum had its inception in a remark by Postmaster General James Farley during a visit to St. Paul," according to this article. "He expressed the belief that every first-class postoffice should have some means of preserving its history." Furniture from former post offices, cash books, city directories, and pictures are among the items now on display. Another special museum collection of historical interest to be seen in St. Paul is the subject of an illustrated article in the *News* for September 23. It consists of objects and pictures reminiscent of the past of the Chicago and Northwestern, or Omaha, railroad, which are displayed in its general offices.

A bill designating the site of the Joseph R. Brown home in Renville County as a state park was passed by the state legislature and approved on July 23. An appropriation "for the purpose of reconstructing, repairing and improving the buildings and grounds" is included. The tract of about three acres will be known as the Joseph R. Brown Memorial Park.

A detailed report by Edward W. Schmidt on recent excavations of "Lowland Mounds of Northfield Area" appears in installments in the *Northfield Independent* from July 1 to September 9. The excavations were made in 1935 and 1936 under Professor Schmidt's direction by students receiving federal aid. An earlier description of these mounds by the same author appears under the title "A Group of Minnesota Lowland Mounds," *ante*, 16:306-312.

A sketch of Dr. Thomas Foster, pioneer Minnesota journalist who established the first Duluth newspaper in 1869, appears with three

interesting portraits in the *Duluth News-Tribune* for July 4. Special attention is given to a speech delivered by Dr. Foster on July 4, 1868, in which he is said to have made the first use of the phrase, "Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas." Another chapter in the newspaper history of Duluth, the establishment of the *Tribune* by Robert C. Mitchell in May, 1870, is set forth in the *Duluth Herald* for September 14. Mitchell is said to have removed his paper and his equipment from Superior to Duluth on the advice of Jay Cooke. Thus was established in Duluth the "first of the newspapers which today are united in the Duluth Herald and News-Tribune."

Members of St. Louis County 4-H clubs participated in a pageant depicting episodes in the history of the county, presented at Lake Eshquaguma on July 31. Among the scenes represented were an Indian village, the crossing of a portage by a group of fur traders, a log drive, and the discovery of iron ore in Minnesota.

A rare Duluth newspaper of the early eighties, the *Daily Bee*, is the subject of a brief article in the *Duluth News-Tribune* for July 1. Several copies of the *Bee*, published in 1882, recently were brought into the office of the *News-Tribune* by Mr. Harold Fowler of Minneapolis. One issue is pictured with the article.

The opening of the Chandler mine near Ely in 1886 is recalled by Cyrille Fortier in an interview published in the *Ely Miner* for September 9. Mr. Fortier was one of a party of six who went out from Tower to cut timber and open the mine. Early labor troubles among miners in the vicinity of Hibbing are described in the *Duluth News-Tribune* for July 11. A strike of steam shovel operators in 1907 is given special attention.

The story of the "First Ten Years of St. John's" abbey and university is outlined by Aloysius Michels in the *St. John's Quarterly* for January, 1937. The founding of the abbey in 1856 by five monks from Pennsylvania was, according to the writer, a "typical Benedictine adventure, for Minnesota, at least in the St. Cloud territory, was then primeval forest, dotted here and there with a river town and a trading place." A description of the college established by these monks is quoted from an account prepared by one of the first students, Anthony Edelbrock.

Some records of the common council of the village of Morris for the late seventies and early eighties, recently discovered in a local bank building, are described in the *Morris Tribune* for September 10. Minutes of meetings, ordinances, and financial records are included. Among the ordinances is one which forbids any person "to ride or drive any horse, mule or other animal at a speed greater than six miles per hour within the fire limits of the village."

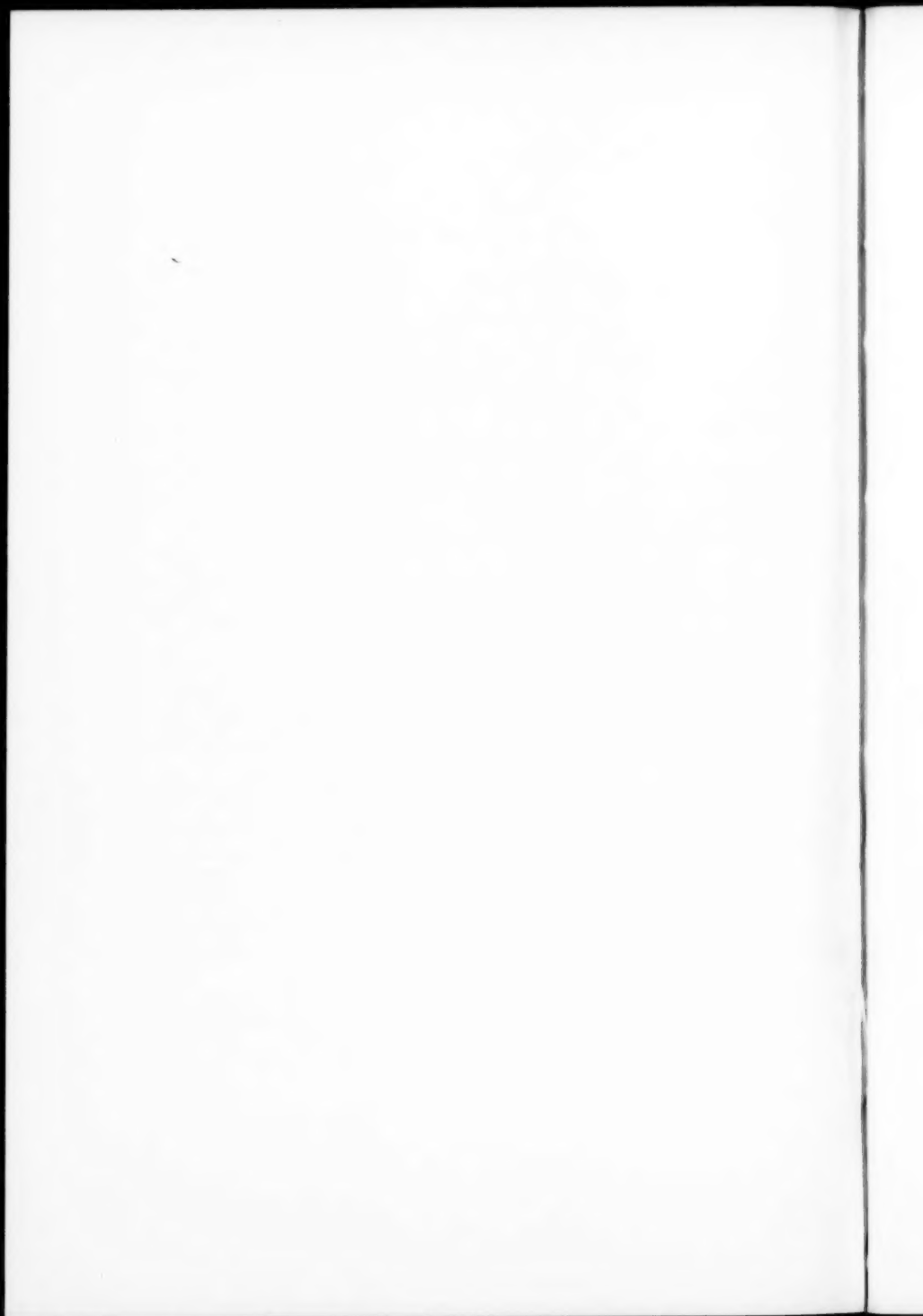
The recent visit to Long Prairie of William Decora, a Winnebago Indian who was born in 1849 while members of his tribe were living on a reservation at that place, is recorded in the *Long Prairie Leader* for September 2. An account of the movements of the Winnebago both before and after their residence in Minnesota and some information about the position of Mr. Decora's family in the tribe are presented by Mr. O. B. DeLaurier.

A golden jubilee celebration, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the village, was held at Wheaton on July 9 and 10. A brief review of the history of the village, in the *Wheaton Gazette* for July 2, includes some information about exploration and the fur trade in western Minnesota, about the early activities of the village council, and about business houses of the eighties. Some of the material presented is drawn from the minute book of the council for 1887.

Views of lumber camps, pictures of lumberjacks, and photographs of log jams on the St. Croix are among the illustrations appearing in a supplement to the *Stillwater Post-Messenger* for September 23. The booklet (12 p.) was issued to commemorate the lumberjack celebration held in Stillwater on September 23.

The origins of Wilkin County place names are explained by the Honorable Julius Schmahl in an article published in the *Gazette Telegram* of Breckenridge for July 22. A sketch of Colonel Alexander Wilkin, for whom the county is named, is included.

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TO
MINNESOTA HISTORY
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ERRATA

- Page 134, line 25, for *James O. Springers*, read *James D. Springers*.
 — 224, line 36, for *grandparents*, read *parents*.
 — 225, line 4, for *grandfather*, read *father*.
 — 314, line 22, for *his daughter*, *Mrs. Claudia G. Perkins*, read *his granddaughter, Miss Claudia Perkins*.
 — 345, line 7, for *Wright County*, read *Meeker County*.
 — 384, line 11, for *between the Allegheny Mountains and the At-
 lantic. In the course*, read *between the rivers; they made friends
 with the Indians, traded*. [Corrected in part of the edition.]
 — 459, line 26, for *Lorraine Blake*, read *Barbara Hall*.
 — 462, line 9, for *pack*, read *back*.

